619

Rif MX3

[For additional information on Riffian "fractions" see also Category 634.]

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Rif MX3

[For additional information on the *arrba*, *thakhammasth* (pl. *thikhammasin*) or *rba* (pl. *ruba*), a major or primary section of the tribe, which has been variously described in the literature as maximal lineages, districts, *khoms* ("fourths" or "fifths" of the tribe), cantons (by Coon), groups of *bones*, fractions, or clan "fifths" (Blanco Izaga), see also Category 631.]

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE territory with which this book is concerned is of small area, despite the fact that it contains continental extremes of environment. It extends along the Mediterranean coast of Morocco from approximately one degree and twenty-six minutes west longitude to approximately one degree and twenty minutes east longitude, possessing about one hundred and forty-five miles of Mediterranean coast-line; its most northerly point is at approximately thirty-five degrees and twenty-nine minutes north latitude, and its most southerly at about thirty-four degrees and nineteen minutes north latitude. The greatest distance north and south in a vertical line in this area is approximately fifty-three miles. This territory, small as it is, includes three distinct provinces, or regions: the Rif, the Ghomara, and what may be called the Northern Senhaja. 131

TRIBAL BOUNDARIES

Rif. The Rif occupies the eastern portion of this area and is greater in size than the Senhaja and Ghomara combined. Its westernmost border is the Wed Uringa, which separates it from the Ghomara, and its eastern the Wed Muluya, which separates it from the Zenatan tribe of Beni Znassen and from the Arabs who live to the southeast of that stream. Of these Arab tribes, one has already encroached on Riffian territory by locating permanently west of the river — the Ulad Stut, a nomadic tribe of Bedawin, much mixed with Riffian blood.

There are eighteen more or less distinct tribes in the Rif proper. These are Kebdana, Galiya, Beni Said, Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Targuist, Bokoya, Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, Mestassa, and Mtiwa.[1] The location of these tribes can be ascertained by a study of the map opposite page 3. It will be seen that the largest tribes geographically are Galiya (which includes Mazuza, Beni Shisher, Beni Sidel, Beni Bu Ifrur, and Beni Bu Yafer), Beni Urriaghel, Gzennaya, Metalsa, and Beni Bu Yahyi. The largest in point of population is Beni Urriaghel, next comes Gzennaya, and Galiya is probably third. The Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa, although they inhabit a relatively large territory, are not numerous; they are nomadic in habit and occupy a sparsely vegetated terrain. 131 619

One might divide the Rif geographically into three parts, eastern, central, and western. The eastern part would comprise Kebdana, Galiya, Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, and Tafersit. The central portion would comprise Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Targuist, and Bokoya. The western part would be the maritime tribes, as they might be called — Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, Mestassa, and Mtiwa.

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[1] In giving these tribal names I have used the common Arabic equivalents for the Berber originals, since to render the Berber names as they are actually pronounced would involve a confusing use of phonetic symbols and would, furthermore, prevent the use of a standard system, since pronunciations of these names vary from tribe to tribe and in some cases within tribes.

131 619 **Senhaja.** To the west and southwest of the Rif, nowhere touching the Mediterranean seaboard, is the Northern Senhaja, which may be divided into the Senhaja Sghir, or Little Senhaja, and the Arabophone Senhaja, composed of tribes extending to either side of the nuclear group. The Little Senhaja contains eleven tribes. Zarket, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Naar, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, Beni Hamid, Beni Beshir, Beni Bu Shibet, Beni Berber, Taghzuth, and Ktama. To these may be added Beni Mesduy, a tribe of two villages compressed between Targuist, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, and Zarket.[1] Politically, Beni Mesduy is divided between Targuist and Zarket; geographically, it is thrust into the side of the Rif; linguistically, it is Senhajan. Since the Beni Mesduy speak the same Senhajan dialect as the people of Zarket, and consider themselves to be remotely descended from the same ancestors, they are usually classed as Senhajan by the Riffians living near them.

197 Although this is not a work on linguistics, some reference to language cannot be avoided. The Riffians speak a peculiar dialect of Berber called *thamazighth*, which seems to be most typically represented in the central region, and grades into the Zenatan idiom as one passes eastward toward the Muluya. The people of Targuist have lost their Berber speech, speaking Arabic domestically, and the same is true to a lesser extent of the Beni Bu Frah, many of whom are ignorant of Berber. The peoples of Mestassa and Mtiwa are losing it rapidly.

The dialect spoken in the Senhaja Sghir, although possessing local differences between tribes, is distinctly different from any dialect of the Rif, and cannot be understood without study by a Riffian. Riffian and Senhajan speakers of Berber are forced to employ Arabic as a means of communication.

The Senhajan tribes which speak only Arabic are divided into two groups, those to the east of the tribe of Mtiwa dial Jbil (to be distinguished from the Riffian maritime tribe of Mtiwa, called, to avoid confusion, Mtiwa dial Bhar) and those to the west of it.

The Eastern Arabophone Senhaja contains nineteen units generally considered as tribes. These are Marnissa, Beni Krama, Branes, Amshesh, Beni Wenjin, Fenassa, Beni Ulid, Zrarka, Bu Adl, Beni Koras, Ain Mediuna, Bab Wendar, Muziet, Rgheiwa, Aghbalu, Khunduktamda, Ulad Brahim, and Beni Bu Slama. Amshesh and Beni Bu Slama are but single settlements, occupied by religious devotees, the former located on the border between Beni Amart and Marnissa, and the latter between Beni Hamid and Beni Wenjin. Both retain Berber speech of the Senhajan variety. Zwawa, a small village of the tribe of Fenassa, likewise preserves Berber speech. Taunat el Uta, a village politically affiliated with the non-Senhajan tribe of Mtiwa dial Jbil, is said to be of Senhajan origin, and hence is included with the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja.

The Western Arabophone Senhaja, extending from the western border of Ktama to and beyond the city of Sheshawen, is perhaps not as purely Senhajan as the Eastern division. It includes the tribes of Beni Hamid Sorak, Ghazawa, and el Khmes, and two isolated villages separate from the rest — Tazeghudra, in the midst of the non-Senhajan tribe of Beni Zerwal, and Taghsuth, in Beni Hassan of the Ghomara. The latter lays claim to being an offshoot of the tribe of Taghzuth and preserves Senhajan speech.

Beni Hozmar, a tribe to the northwest of Sheshawen, is said to be Senhajan, but data are difficult to obtain, owing to the fact that the Riffian army in their advance on Tetwan during the recent war utterly destroyed the village of these people, and whatever inhabitants survived scattered, leaving their home territory uninhabited.

131 **Ghomara.** The third great region is the Ghomara, which extends along the Mediterranean coast from Wed Uringa to Wed Lao, and is separated from the Senhaja by the main 619 mountain crest. It is divided into eight tribes, Beni Ziat, Beni Zejel, Beni Selman, Beni Bu Zra, Beni Mansur, Beni Grir, Beni Smih, and Beni Rezin.

197 Of these Beni Bu Zra retains Berber speech in fairly complete form, and all the others employ Berber words mixed with Arabic. This Ghomaran dialect has never been studied, but seems to resemble Riffian more closely than does Senhajan, in that Riffian and Ghomaran are mutually comprehensible.

131 619 **Other Berber Groups.** This work is confined to a consideration of the Riffians, Senhajans, and Ghomarans because my material covers these groups only, and not because they are the only recognizable Berbers of northern Morocco. In the peninsula which culminates at Tangier and Ceuta lives another group, the Anjera, which although Arab in speech is distinctly Berber in appearance, and which is said to be related to the Riffians; to the south and west of the Senhaja are other tribes, such as the Beni Zerwal, which are certainly not Arab in origin.

The term *Jebala*, from the Arabic word for mountain, is generally used to distinguish the Ghomara, the Arabophone Senhaja, and the other Berber tribes of the northwest from the Riffians and from the Arabs. This term is unfortunately inexact, and hence is not employed in this work to designate any specific area.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY

133 The most important topographical feature of this region is the high mountain chain which bends southward from Tetwan into the heart of the Senhaja Sghir, and then resumes an eastward course through the Rif until it fades down into a series of hills in Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi to crop up again, thrusting northeastward, in Galiya, and carrying the land of that tribe out into the Mediterranean at the Cabo Tres Forcas. Although the crest of this range is in most places nearly thirty miles from the Mediterranean coast, the shore line itself is rough and craggy, since the mountains carry much of their height to the very water's edge, where they descend with a sharp drop. The mountains are higher in the west than in the east. Adhrar Tidighin, partly in Beni Khennus and partly in Beni Seddath, is the highest in the range, reaching an altitude of 2,549 meters [1] in one peak and 2,455 meters [1] in another; it is covered on the north side with a permanent layer of snow. Although Tidighin is the highest peak, it does not far surpass its neighbors. Between Taghzuth and Beni Bu Nsar, slightly southeast of Tidighin, is another mountain of great height and majesty, called the mountain of Taghzuth, 2,330 meters [1] high. In the Rif itself the highest points of the divide are Kuin, 1,883 meters,[1] and Tizi Uzli, 2,006 meters,[1] both in the Gzennaya. The Jebel Hammam, in Beni Urriaghel, attains about the same height, 1,948 meters, [1] but does not fall in the direct line of the watershed.

The divide itself runs between the Ghomara and the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja; it separates Ktama from Mtiwa of the Rif, and Beni Seddath and Beni Khennus from Beni Bu Nsar (although in truth these three tribes might be said to perch on top of it); runs through Zarket, setting Targuist on one side and Beni Hamid on the other; and cuts through the middle of Beni Amart, along the range of Tizi Ifri, and across the top of Gzennaya, along their full share to any martial activity in which the *bone* participates; regarding this lack of 614 balance as unfair, members of alien *veins* split off from the parent *bone* whenever possible, forming new *bones* with their own local government, and, in the course of time, with equal 621 consideration in the larger governmental institutions. The new *bone* thus created may take as its name that of the wife of the adopted alien ancestor, since it was his wife and not he who belonged to the original indigenous strain. In that way one may explain many of the matronymic *bones* which occur frequently in the Rif.

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[1] Map issued by the Service Géographique du Maroc, Rabat, March, 1926. Scale, 1: 20,000.

Splitting of one *bone* into several may occur, however, without the necessity of alien immigration. If the *bone* becomes too large to be conveniently administered, if discord arises between two or more parties of *veins*, or if some of the *veins* migrate, voluntarily or through pressure, to a new locality, the *bone* splits up.

Sometimes a *vein* divides, some of the brothers staying at home and others migrating. In this case the original *vein* may never expand sufficiently to take on the status of a *bone*, whereas the brothers who migrated may have had numerous progeny and have become, in a relatively short time, the ancestors of separate *bones*. An example of this is the family of *Oshannen*, or jackals, a *vein* of the *bone* of Tiddest in Ikhuanen of Gzennaya. Two members of the Oshannen migrated, one going to Temsaman and the other to Beni Said. Now, the Oshannen of Temsaman and the Oshannen of Beni Said are not only separate *bones* in these tribes but have furthermore risen to the highest administrative authority in them. The Kaid Bu Kaddur of Temsaman and the Kaid Moh Amar n Woshun of Beni Said are both descendants of the original migrants from the *vein* of Oshannen of Tiddest.

A different situation is found in the tribes of Beni Tuzin, Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Beni 614 Ulishk, Tafersit, Galiya, Kebdana, and, to a slight extent, Beni Said. Among these tribes are found both *veins* and *bones* composed of strangers called *igharbiyen*, reputed to be of 621 Arab origin. The Igharbiyen are allowed an equal part in the government, and are in no way discriminated against as are members of alien Riffian *veins* among the *bones* of the central 563 Rif. In Beni Said, however, an exception to this is found. The Igharbiyen among the Beni Said are few in number, and are subject not only to the restriction against alien *veins* which is found in the central Rif, but also to that against their *bones*, which are not allowed a part in higher councils.

Families of Zenatan origin in Beni Tuzin, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Gzennaya, Temsaman, Beni Said and Beni Bu Ifrur of Galiya, are subject to no discrimination whatever. The single families of Zenata in Gzennaya, Temsaman, and Beni Bu Ifrur are given the standing of *bones*.

4 Although one finds in the Rif numerous *bones* of immigrant groups, both Igharbiyen and Zenata, no trace of any moiety organization is visible, even among the Beni Tuzin, whose very name, *Asht Uzin*, means, in their own language, "the children of the half."[1]

Next after the *bone*, which is a true family group and is dependent upon kinship and 619● adoption, comes the division known as *arrba'* (plural *roboa'*), derived from the Arabic word meaning "a fourth." In the present volume it will be called "canton."[2] The *canton* is a 621 group of *bones* which may or may not be related in blood; it occupies a single geographical

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[1] See p. 36, n. 7.

[2] Here again is a term with no ready equivalent. I have avoided "fourth," the literal translation, because such a designation would imply that it is greater than the *fifth*, when the opposite is true. Furthermore, there is no extant valid reason for the name *fourth* in Berberised Arabic. "Canton" seems to express the idea of geographical and political unity without an implication of kinship, and hence is applied to the present social phenomenon.

4[For comment on this, see the 111 slip. - Analyst]

619 unit-area, such as a valley with its contiguous mountains up to their crests. Relationship
between the *bones* composing a *canton* depends on whether or not the *bone* of oldest standing
621 has split to form other groups, and whether or not immigrant *bones* have entered or been
formed by the enlargement of *veins* descended from strangers. In most *cantons* one finds both related and unrelated *bones*. Loyalty within the *canton* is seldom very strong, and in many if not most instances wars have been fought within *cantons*.

Beyond the *canton* one finds a still larger division, the *thakhemesth* (plural *thikhemesin*), or "fifth,"[1] so called because each *thakhemesth* in the tribe receives one fifth of the booty after a successful tribal war, and because tribes which are divided into *fifths* always contain five such divisions. This group again is dependent upon geography rather than upon blood, although many *bones* in the same *fifth*, even in different *cantons*, are allied by marriage and hence in war.

Beyond the *fifth* is the tribe, called *thakabitch*, a word derived from the Arabic *ḳabila*.[2]
619 In most cases the tribe is equivalent to one *fifth*, and the latter word is not used, the term *thakabitch* being applied directly above *canton*. The tribes divided into five *fifths* are Galiya, Temsaman, Beni Urriaghel, and Gzennaya. Those of Galiya are Mazuza, Ait Shisher, Beni Bu Yafer, Beni Bu Ifrur, and Beni Sidel. Those of Beni Urriaghel are Aith Yusuf u Ari, Aith Abdullah, Aith Ari, Imrabten, and Beni Bu Ayesh. Those of Gzennaya are Beni Yunes, Beni Asem, Beni Mohammed, Imedurar, and Asht Aru u Aissa. In naming these *fifths* I have given the names most commonly known to the outside world, Berber or Arab as the case may be. In Temsaman there are really but two actual *fifths*, Truguth and Hathith n Temsaman. The other three so-called *fifths* are merely combinations of two *bones* each, classed in pairs for the sole purpose of dividing spoils. These are Asht Daud and Sidi Shaib u Ftah, Bu Thinar and Oshannen, and Amzauru and Tizi Azza. They are given this special standing because Temsaman is too powerful to be relegated to the position of a single *fifth*, and because these *bones* are able to support their position by arms.

SOCIAL CLASSES

565 The Riffians, democratic as they are, nevertheless distinguish several social classes be-
tween which marriage is forbidden. The vast body of Riffians, whether descended from old
563 Riffian stock, from Senhaja, Zenata, or Igharbiyen, consider themselves socially more or
less equal, and do not hesitate, when exogamy is desirable for purposes of alliance, to take
582 wives from other *bones*. Yet there is a definite lower class, considered to be not only immi-
grant but Negroid as well, with which alliances are, in some tribes (Gzennaya, Beni Amart,
463 Beni Urriaghel, and Temsaman), strictly forbidden, and in others are followed by the social
debasement of the Riffian marrying among them. These are the so-called *imazilen* (singular
565 *amazil*) or "Shameless Ones,"[3] who carry on the three hereditary trades of blacksmithing,
563 piping at weddings, and acting as public criers, measurers and weighers in markets. All
463 these trades require a degree of publicity, of self-exposure in crowds — and since the Riffian

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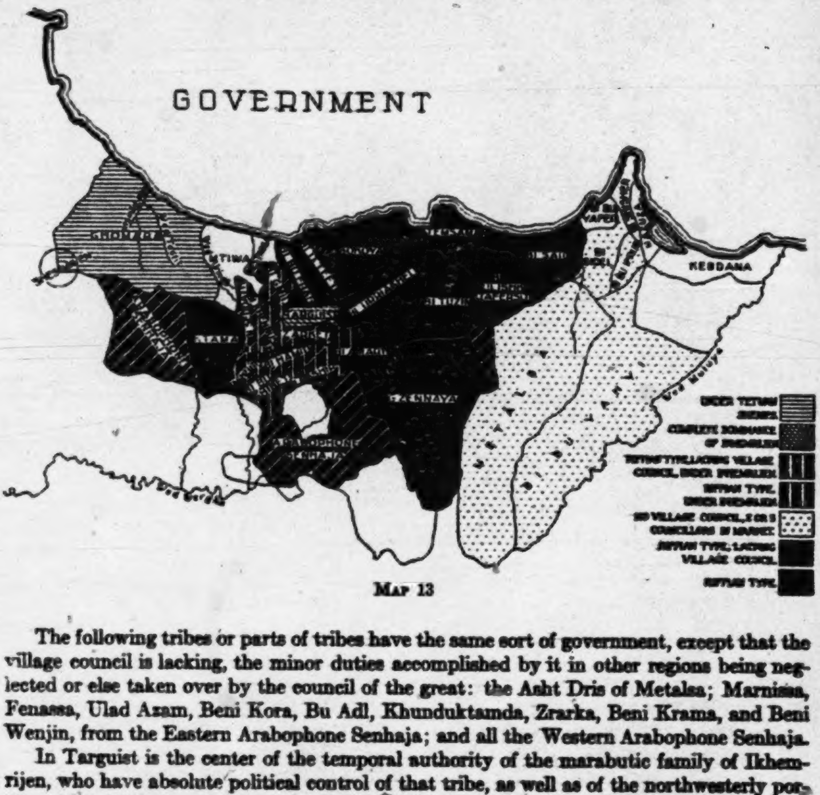
[1] The literal translation, "fifth," applies so well here that I have retained it. Most authorities call this division a "fraction," but the latter term is frequently confused in meaning, being also given as an equivalent for *arrba'*, and not carrying with it a clear picture of what particular sub-division of the tribe is meant.

[2] Here the word "tribe" forms a sufficiently exact equivalent.

[3] The chief quality of this class which the Riffians always mention first in describing them, is their lack of shame. Hence the term "Shameless Ones" will be used throughout to designate them.

623 646 affairs of the *bons* and the council of the great, composed of councillors who concern themselves with the problems of the *canton* and go together to take part in the tribal council in which the function of the *fifth* is to divide the councillors into preliminary alliances.

The type of government just described is limited to the tribes of Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Bokoya, Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, most of Beni Amart (exclusive of the region immediately contiguous with Zarket and Beni Mesduy), and, curiously enough, the Senhajan tribe of Ktama.



MAP 13

619 642 The following tribes or parts of tribes have the same sort of government, except that the village council is lacking, the minor duties accomplished by it in other regions being neglected or else taken over by the council of the great: the Asht Dris of Metalsa; Marnissa, Fenassa, Ulad Azam, Beni Kora, Bu Adl, Khunduktamda, Zrarka, Beni Krama, and Beni Wenjin, from the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja; and all the Western Arabophone Senhaja.

In Targuist is the center of the temporal authority of the marabutic family of Ikhemrijen, who have absolute political control of that tribe, as well as of the northwesterly portion of Beni Mesduy; in Zarket, in the rest of Beni Mesduy, which counts with it, in Beni Hamid, Beni Bu Shibet, Beni Beshir, Beni Berber, Taghzuth, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, and Beni Gmil, the same type of government as that described in the previous paragraph obtains except that the Ikhemrijen dictate to the councils what they shall do, and in fact keep the moderators of these bodies practically in vassalage. In these tribes the Ikhemrijen forbid warfare and alliances, with a result that, as a natural outlet for bellicose exuberance, brigandage is rife. 619 642

In the northwestern part of Beni Amart, in the *canton* of Ijaonen, the power of the Ikhemrijen prevents warfare and alliance; otherwise the government is purely Riffian in type.

In the Ghomara the Arab system of government is employed, with the customary alignment of ḳaids (leaders of tribes), khalifas (leaders of *fifths*), and sheikhs (leaders of *cantons*), excepting that all these officers are under the jurisdiction of a marabutic family of Tetuan.

Metalsa, except Asht Dris, Beni Bu Yahyi, and Beni Sidel and Beni Bu Ifrur of Galiya, employ a hybrid form of government in which there is no village council and the council of the great consists only of two or three men who meet in the market to administer justice for the region near it.

Mtiwa, Mestassa, Beni Bu Yafer, Ait Shisher, Mazuza, Kebdana, Muziet, Rgheiwa, Ain Mediuna, Bab Wendar, Beni Ulid, Branes, and Burda had fallen completely under the Arab system before the time when Abd el Krim attempted to remodel the government. In the eastern section and in Mtiwa and Mestassa the ḳaid was euphemistically called by the Berber term *amghar* (councillor), and in the Senhajan tribes mentioned the sheikh was called *kebir el jama*, or "great one of the congregation."

DUTIES OF THE VILLAGE COUNCIL

The cases tried by this body and the matters it is required to regulate are as follows (the fines listed are only approximate): 623 692 685

Theft of eggs and of poultry. The thief must pay a fine of thirty dollars. If the culprit is a child, his father appears and pays it.

Theft of maize. Boys who steal early ripening maize are collectively fined five dollars. The injured farmer has the right to pick ripened ears from the terraces of the thieves' parents to the number which he has lost.

Cutting maize in adjoining terraces. Sometimes maize growing in adjoining terraces, owned by different men, ripens at different times. The owner of the later ripening maize may wish to prevent the owner of the other field from cutting his crop until both are ready, through fear that his own maize may be trampled in the process. This situation arises when it is necessary to enter one terrace by passing through the other. In this case the village council enjoins the owner of the early maize to wait until the other is ready.

Breaking branches of fruit trees. If goats or children break branches from a fruit tree, the owner of the tree brings the branch or branches to the mosque, where the village council counts the number of buds on the branch or branches. A *girch* (about five cents) is charged for each bud, the recompense to be paid the owner of the tree, and in addition a fine of twenty dollars must be paid.

Trampling vegetable gardens. This offense is punished by a fine of one to two dollars, with no restitution.

Policing orchards. During the harvest season the members of this body police the orchards of the *bens* during the night to prevent thefts.

Starting the grape picking. The village council, which has charge of allotting poor families to rich ones for the grape picking, exacts a fine of twenty dollars from anyone guilty of picking grapes before the signal is given.

631 the *liff* mechanism was an absolute necessity, for if it did not exist they would have been swallowed up long ago.

619 175 178 The entrance of the Pretender Bū Ḥimāra into the Rif in 1908 and the short war with Spain in 1909 brought about a disruption of some of the traditional alliances and the constitution of new ones. This had a particularly important effect upon Aith Wuryāghil because, for the first time, the tribe became truly united. Reinforced by contingents from Aith 'Ammarth, the warriors of Aith Wuryāghil banded together to resist the Rūghī and his *ḥarka* of Riffians from the east. They defeated him at the Battle of Imzūren and managed very effectively to check his progress in the Central Rīf.

619 We can thus see that tribal unity, dormant under normal conditions, is manifested when outside forces threaten to upset group equilibrium. The strongest allegiances are family and *thārfiqth* ties, but, in opposition to neighboring tribes, tribal allegiance is undivided. This has its reflection in tribal nomenclature: a man from Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh is called Bū 'Ayyāshī only in the tribal territory of Aith Wuryāghil. Outside it he is called Wuryāghlī, and if he is outside the Rīf entirely he is usually just referred to as ar-Rīfī. This is how the Riffian really defines his tribe, by inferred comparison to and in opposition to other tribes. Writing about another tribal society, the Nuer of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Dr. E. E. Evans-Pritchard has defined a tribe as having: 1) a common and distinct name; 2) a common sentiment; 3) a common and distinct territory; 4) a moral obligation to unite in war, and 5) a moral obligation to settle feuds and other disputes by arbitration. It is precisely upon these criteria that the Aith Wuryāghil base their own concept of their tribe, as do all the other tribal groups as well. When menaced by Bū Ḥimāra, the Aith Wuryāghil were welded together by their comm[illegible] «we-feelings», and stopped him.

631 175 178 The ultimate result of Bū Ḥimāra's campaign in the Rīf was the rise to personal power of a number of petty *imghāren* who became absolute masters in their own bailiwicks. Such men were the Ḥājj Buqqaish in northern Giznāya, Muḥammad 'Abdallāh of Aith ar-Ḥāsain in Aith 'Ammarth, and, in Aith Wuryāghil itself, Muḥand Ḥaddū of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh, Sī Ziyān of Ajdīr (Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī), Ḥājj Ḥaddū of Aith 'Alī, Sīdī 'Amar of Imrābdhen, Muḥand n Sī 'Amar of Aith

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[For information on the Rifian "fraction", called a "clan" or "sub-clan" by Blanco Izaga, and defined as "... an association of neighboring jma'th-s for sociopolitical ends ..., a state in miniature ..., an independent republic, and the true Rifian *Patria* ..." (p. 115), see Category 614.]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

BLANCO MAP I (1934)

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613
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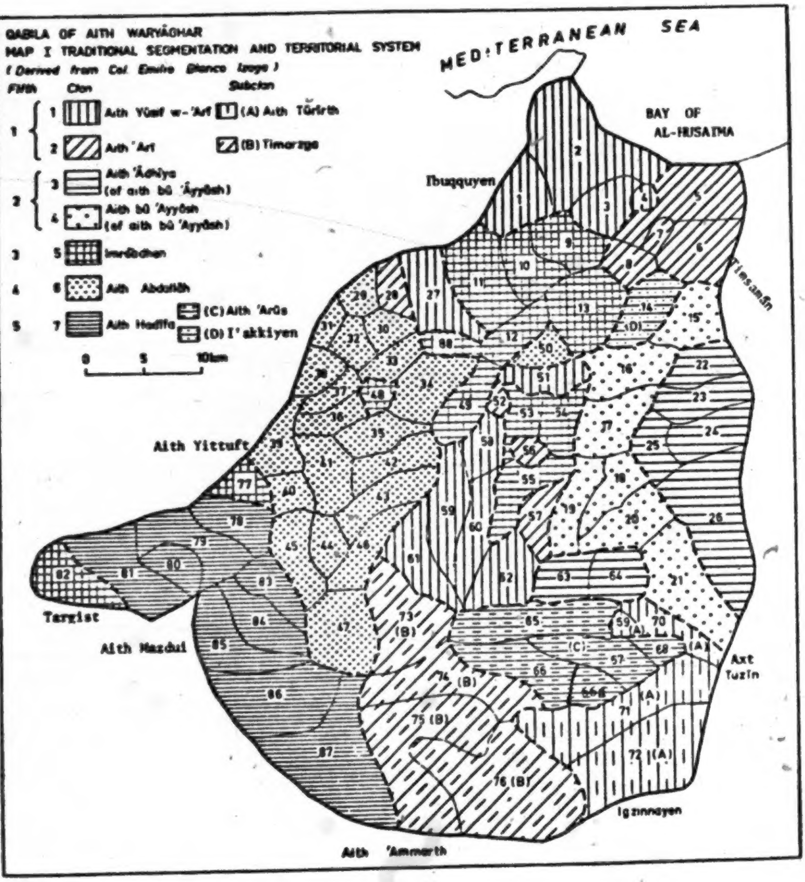
QABILA OF AITH WARYÂGHAR
MAP I TRADITIONAL SEGMENTATION AND TERRITORIAL SYSTEM
(Derived from Col. Emilio Blanco Izaga)
Fifth
Clan
Subclan
1
1 Aith Yûsif w-'Arî
(A) Aith Tûrirth
2 Aith 'Arî
(B) Timarzga
2
3 Aith 'Âdhiya (of aith bû 'Âyyâsh)
4 Aith bû 'Ayyâsh (of aith bû 'Ayyâsh)
3
5 Imrâbdhen
4
6 Aith Abdallâh
5
7 Aith Hadîfa
(C) Aith 'Arûs
(D) I'akkiyen
0
5
10km
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BAY OF AL-HUSAIMA
Ibuqquyen
Timsamân
Aith Yittuft
Targist
Aith Mazdui
Axt Tuzin
Igzinnayen
Aith 'Ammarth

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

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KEY TO BLANCO MAP, 1934 - TRADITIONAL SEGMENTARY AND TERRITORIAL SYSTEM OF THE AITH WARYAGHAR (Derived from EMILIO BLANCO IZAGA)

N.B. Numbers of "fifths" and clans correspond to those, numbered 1-5 and 1-7 respectively, on the legend of the map, while nos. 1-88 represent local communities.

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

1. Izifzafen
2. Ajdir: Aith 'Aru 'Aisa, Aith Misa'ud u-Yusif, Aith Zara'
3. Azghar
4. Aith Mhand u-Yihya of the Plain

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

5. Tafrasth
6. Aith Musa w-'Amar
7. Imjjudhen
8. Tigarth

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(1) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

9. Aith Hishim
10. Aith Misa'ud
11. Aith Qamra
12. Idardushen
13. Ifasiyen, Aith Brahim, Aith 'Amar u-Bukar, Aith Yusif

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF AITH HADHIFA

14. (D). Subclan of I'AKKIYEN

2 - "FIFTH" OF AITH BU 'AYYASH

(4) - CLAN OF "TRUE" AITH BU 'AYYASH

15. Izakiren
16. Aith Tfarwin
17. Isufiyen
18. Aith Tfarwin (again)
19. Aith Ta'a
20. Iriyanen
21. Aith Bu Khrif

102 (3) - CLAN OF AITH 'ADHIYA

631 22. Ighmiren
613 23. Ajdir Bu Qiyadhen
24. Imnudh
619 25. Aith Bu Qiyadhen (r-Rabda)
614 26. Tazurakhth: Aith 'Aisa, Aith Ruqman

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

27. Aith Buham

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

28. Aith Dawud

4 - "FIFTH" OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

(6) - CLAN OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

29. Tazaghin
30. Aith Zkri
31. Imarnisen
32. Tizi 'Ayyash
33. Ibunharen
34. Bu Khalifa (Aith Ziyyan)
35. Iqanniyen
36. Ikiddaben
37. Uqrishen
38. Dahar n-Zimmurth
39. Thariwin
40. Bu Sarah (Bu Salah)
41. Aith Sa'id
42. Aith Dris
43. Bu Zdur (Tigarth 'Ari)
44. Ihwahwahiyen
45. Thirkuzin (Tilkuzin)
46. Thimkiliwin
47. Marrui

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

48. Bu Ghardain
49. Zawith n-Sidi 'Aisa (Zawiya Sidi 'Aisa)

4 - "FIFTH" OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

(6) - CLAN OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

50. I'ayyaden

102

1 - "FIFTH" OF THE AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

631

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

613

51. Thamasind n-Waddai (Lower Thamasind)

619

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

614

52. Bu Minqad

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

53. Aith r-Qadi
54. Aith 'Aziz
55. Aith r-Qadi (again, I'athmanen

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

56. Thamasind n-Dara (Upper Thamasind)
57. Iswiqen

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

58. Aghridh (Aghlid)
59. Aith Mhand u-Yihya of the Mountains
60. 'Arnuq
61. Israhan
62. Ikattshumen (Ikultumen)

2 - "FIFTH" OF AITH BU 'AYYASH

(3) - CLAN OF AITH 'ADHIYA

63. Ighmiren (again)
64. Igar w-Anu

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF AITH HADHIFA

(C) - Subclan of AITH 'ARUS

(C) 65. Bu Sa'ida
(C) 66. Aith Tigarth (or simply Tigarth)
(C) 66a. Aith u-Maru (or simply Maru): "people of the shade"
(C) 67. Aith u-Sammar (or simply Sammar): "people of the sun"
(C) 68. Aith Juhra

102
631
613
● 619
614

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

(A) - Subclan of AITH TURIRTH

(A) 69. Aith 'Amar
(A) 70. Thizimmurin
(A) 71. Thigzirin
(A) 72. Bulma, Ignan, l-'Ass

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

(B) - Subclan of TIMARZGA

(B) 73. r-Maqsuridh
(B) 74. Bu Ma'dan
(B) 75. Thafsasth
(B) 76. Aith Yusif

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

77. Kammun

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF "TRUE" AITH HADHIFA

78. Mishkur
79. Ihadduthen
80. Iharunen
81. Thizimmurin

3 - "FIFTH OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

82. Thamarkatt (Tamarkalt)

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF AITH HADHIFA

83. Bihban
84. Aghzar 'Aisa
85. Bashkra
86. Aith 'Amar u-Sa'id
87. Zawith n-Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar (Zawiya Sidi 'Abd l-Qadir)

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

88. Izarruqen

177 Berberizes, among other things, words, and the umbrella[5]...; and when
671 Koranic laws apply to him, he follows them only if they are compli-
779 mentary to his own custom; but, if there is a contradiction, it is
custom, and not the Shari'a, which is followed, and followed without
question.[6]

181 5) The author's expression of his personal sympathy for the
Rifians: men who are "brave, loyal, hard-working, intelligent, modest,
honorable, (long-)suffering, and austere."[7]

B) Introduction to Social Structure (fragmentary):

602 1) As an agricultural and warlike people, the social ties of
571 the Rifians are rudimentary[8] and become weaker as the number of in-
dividuals associated with them increase: thus, from family to tribe,
from village to region, there is a decrease in consistency. Strong in
613 621 "elemental" groupings like the agnatic lineage or the *dharfiqth*, which
619 units its members through blood ties[9], they lose rigidity although
they are still precise and detailed in the *jma'th* (or local community)[10],
and they become looser and more difficult to recognize in the upper-
level groups, the *dhaqbitsh*[11] and its "fractions"[12], which nevertheless
constitute the true "homeland" in North Africa, and are independent
units[13].

571 2) The Rifian social organisms (i.e. units) are constituted
(602) by the associations between family (i.e. kin) groups which live to-
gether in the same territory, and thus have a localistic stamp which
permits their evaluation in this manner. However, the institutions
which constitute political groups do not have this character, as
they are made up of elastic and complementary forms[14] which...retain

602
571 2) (The author's) concept of "groups": a) group of blood ties
613 (i.e. kin group)--family jajgu or "ascending ramus" (read "lineage
● 619 branch")[20] and dharfiqth or "family group" (read "lineage"); b) social
596 group--jma'ath: "fraction" or canton [21] (khums, rba')[22] and tribe or
dhaqbitsh; c) political group--liff or alliance; d) religious group--
tariqa or religious brotherhood, and murabitic families (saints); and
e) economic group--rural lands and property: storehouses[23], markets,
Jews, "beneficial institutions"[24].

594 Rifians are thus grouped into three "associations" (i.e.
596 levels) of kin groups: 1) hearth or (nuclear) family or dhaddarth[25];
613 2) "ascending ramus" or jajgu (lineage branch); and 3) "family group"
or dharfiqth (patrilineage).

594 3) The Nuclear Family or Hearth:--This is formed by the union
of a man, a woman and their (unmarried) children, and it should be
looked at from both the conjugal and filial standpoints. From a
594 conjugal standpoint, it may be composed of a man and his four wives
595 (and unmarried children). But Rifians are polygynous only in theory;
183
[554] in practice, only the well-to-do (such as shaikhs) are polygynous,
and even they seldom have more than two wives. A poor man only tends
to take a second wife if he has to, if, for example, he has divorced
595 the first one for not bearing him any sons. The function of polygyny
182 is to produce sons in order to prevent the extinction of the family
[181] in a society where the major law is "that of the strongest"[26], as
well as to produce a sufficient number of male children to take care
of agricultural tasks. "Oriental sensuality" is not a factor here,
in any way.

In the tribes of Aith Waryaghar, Axt Tuzin,
614 Thimsaman, Aith 'Ammarth, Ibuqquyen, Ktama and Sanhaja Srir, each clan
443 has its own market[79]. Only in a small tribe or in one with more or
[619] less artificial clans is this not the case. The clan, which occupies a well determined area topographically, as a rule (a large meseta, valley, mountain fold, etc.), is a rare one which does not have or did not formerly have its own market, where the clan representatives or imqqranen came together to agree upon and proclaim their law, their rules of coexistence, which in some cases were drawn up on paper and which form the basis of my La Ley Rifeña, 2a Parte.

614 The clans of a tribe did not originate through accumulation
[619] of the association of jma'ths, but rather, the tribes which came to settle in the territory already contained three, four or five clans in their nomadic (sic) state, and the new lands were distributed
613 equitably.[80] However, it is easier to follow the schematic representation of social groups from smaller to larger units, as the lineages characteristic of these are clearer and better defined.
619 In the tribe, they are quite relaxed, and it is more difficult to
614 see them, because the clans themselves are apt to show this by their
623 patronymic designations, "sons of X"; but this opinion is provisional,
621 as there are also names which are not genealogically based, as in the case of the clan names of Ibuqquyen (Izimmuren, Azghar and Thaghidhith) and in Ija'unen of Aith 'Ammarth; and the same might well be the case with the jma'ths, whose names are often geographical ones.[81]

614 In the clan, we have all the institutions, organisms, dependencies and economic specializations most necessary to sustain life: an amrabit or hermit saint venerated and besought for pilgrimages and miracles; a market for the provisions and supply and for the council

614 site of the clan assemblies or *igrawen* (sing. *agrau*); master masons and carpenters; a loom; grain mills and olive presses. The clan has memories of men and places which tradition perpetuates and puts, because of their symbolic virtues, above the daily fratricidal struggles, taking them beyond the poisoned and corrupted *ambit* of the village and the vicious atmosphere of the *jma'th* in order to breathe purer air (as it were), that of the multitudes, of sociability, and
614 of humanity. For this purpose it is allotted a special day and a
443 special place (i.e. market day and the market) in which a truce is
796 established, and in which the human voice acquires its noble sound and drowns out the dry crack of the rifle shot. Interestingly enough, Friday is not the day which Islam sanctifies as the day of rest[82]; the market day is in fact the day when the Rifian rests and finds peace among his fellow believers.

614 The clan is not a rudimentary institution merely involving
621 social coexistence, like the *jma'th*. The clan gains in spirituality
623 what it gains from an economic standpoint in territorial amplitude through the wider association of groups of interest. The clan resolves graver and more transcendent matters than the *jma'th* does.

614 The clan independence (read "autonomy") is determined by the
619 promulgation of the executive force of proper clan law within an
616 *elastic* (author's italics) geographical perimeter, and by the possibility of the clan subsisting on its own resources, this independence, this liberty, has a limit, an area of movement, a radius which is fixed, as in all these associations studied here, by the higher power of the tribe and by that of the *liffs* or alliance systems, as the

614 latter are an incommensurable force in which both the individual and/or
[619] the group(s) to which he belongs may take refuge...Thus, if the clan
[616] has a geographic character[83], its primary distinguishing features are
its customary law, its qanuns and its market (as in the qanun of the
Wednesday Market of Sidi Bu 'Afif, which marks the jurisdiction of
this market and the men who admit the same and arrange their lives in
accordance with it--see La Ley Rifeña, 2a Parte, pp. 59-68).

619 4) Tribe or Dhaqbitsh: The tribe is the highest-level form of
614 clan association (i.e. a tribe is made up by a given number of clans
or maximal segments). The function of a tribe, also, has on this
619 614 level been transformed into that of maintaining interclan equilibrium
671 (i.e. the theory of segmental balance and opposition), which is
182 guided by the same norms as within each clan, and if it actually has
no overall customary law common to it as a single unit[84], it nonetheless forces...any of its delinquent members to rectify any errors,
faults or mistakes he may make, but always in accordance with the law
619 of his clan. Thus we may observe that, within the tribes, their clans
614 form two balanced and equilibrated lfuf (pl. of liff), or liffs, as
616 the tribes, on their own level, do in turn[85], and as even the dharfiqin
[613] of a given jma'th do, two, three or four rungs down the ladder. It
[621] [623] would seem to be these liffs which have always served to watch over
and maintain the continued existence of the "fractions" and tribes,
while at the same time having been responsible for a fierce opposition
to penetration of the area on the part of the Makhzin (both Moroccan
and Spanish)...If the jma'th is the secondary school of Rifian democracy, the "fraction" is its high school and its tribe the university.

423 A curious feature of Rifian society is that the territorial limits of its social units are to a certain extent elastic. An individual or a family, for example, may acquire land in another tribe, and his or their own clan or tribe does not appropriate for itself the territory he occupied previously; this remains fixed. But when [628] the properties of an individual or a kin group which are modified are bordering each other, then the jma'th, clan or tribe, or rather, its area of extension or its areal jurisdiction, follows an analogous variation, improvement or cutting-off, increase or loss, advance or retreat, as the case may be; and such instances bring about not a few 423 quarrels and altercations. This happened in Ibuqquyen, whose people ● 619 saw their neighbors of Aith Waryaghar creeping into their territory through slowly buying up all the good land around the middle course of the Buham River, at which point they opposed selling them any more terrain...This territorial elasticity, although it does not bring about great modifications because of the incessant watch which the tribes instinctively keep over their land, also derives, no doubt, from the ancient family concept of opposition to everything which could weaken it; and, as a result, such land returns most often to its tribe of origin through abandonment, new acquisition or exchange, if it has been alienated. Such elasticity tends to become lessened (with [131] consequently greater rigidity of tribal boundaries) when it coincides with natural boundaries, as, for example, in the middle and upper courses of the Nkur River, separating the tribes of Axt Tuzin and Aith Waryaghar; but even so, this play of property has nevertheless modified tribal frontiers as well delineated as this one.

646 554 c) the aith(th)arba'in, or "people of the forty"[107], delegates
representing the clan in the tribal council or agrau,
which convened when circumstances required it (danger
external to the clan or to the tribe, or murder). In
[619] theory, there were eight delegates from each khums (in
tribes, which, like Aith Aryaghar were divided into five
khmas), but they were given the same name even if they
totaled less than forty.[108]

554 443 [625] d) the amghar n-suq, or "market chief"[109], a person who by virtue of his position or energy took care, with his kinsmen, of policing the market, of small incidents which might occur within it, etc.

[203] e) the abarrah, or market crier.[110]

554 f) the amarras, or silo guardian (in the Eastern Rif only).

463 554 G) Free Professions (fragmentary):

a) Low Class Public Functionaries: criers and weighers in markets.

b) Free Professions: merchants, healers, weavers, carpenters and masons.

c) Lowest Scale: musicians and dancers.[111]

535 463 532 554 d) Ibarudiyen: real imqqranen, possibly the most highly re-
garded ones in the tribe. Invited to feasts, they enacted
scenes of war. Generally, two of them faced each other and
improvised dialogue, while firing off their rifles[112].
[182] These ibarudiyen were the Rifian counterpart of dramatic
actors; and even in this simple detail of lack of

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

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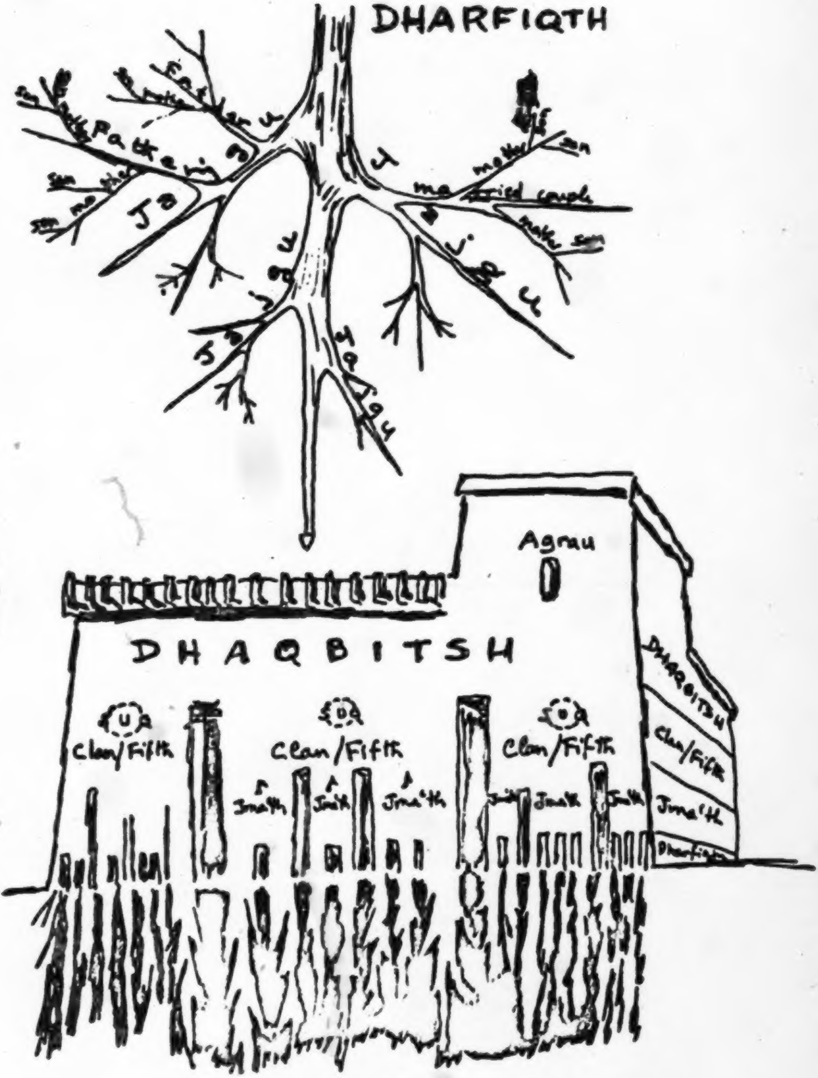
DHARFIQTH
Father
Patteri
son
mother
son
son
married couple
mother
son
Agrau
DHAQBITSH
Clan/Fifth
Clan/Fifth
Clan/Fifth
Jma'th
Jma'th
Jma'th
Jma'th
Jma'th
Jma'th
DHAQBITSH
Clan/Fifth
Jma'th
Dharfiqth

[P. 127-A]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

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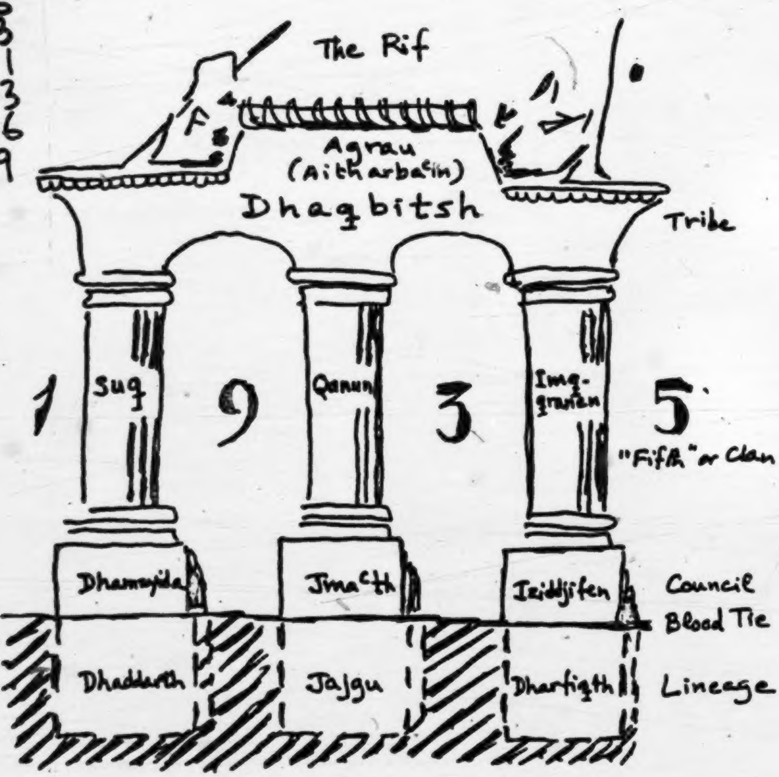
The Rif
F
Agrau
(Aitharbaᶜin)
Dhaqbitsh
Tribe
1
Suq
9
Qanun
3
Imqqranen
5
"Fifth" or Clan
Dhamnyida
Jmaᶜth
Iziddjifen
Council
Blood Tie
Dhaddarth
Jajgu
Dharfiqth
Lineage

Diagram of Rifian Social Structure

[P. 127-B]

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organization, as in the settlement morphology and house distribution of their communities, we may discern the state of disintegration which the Rifian "republics" had attained, the individual rapaciousness of each one and the anarchy of its component parts.

Diagram of Rifian Social Structure[113]

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We see in this graphic representation of the principal units in Rifian social structure how these units are originated in the lineages (Sp. original, grupos familiares) whose three ascending categories of nuclear family (Sp. or hogar, R. nubth), lineage branch (jajgu) and lineage proper (dharfiqth), with genealogical relationship as their distinguishing characteristic, form the roots or base of the Rifian
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arch, as diagrammed here. On reaching ground level (in an upward direction), they become transformed into three other (larger) social units whose distinctive features are expressed above and the apex of which is the tribe (dhaqbitsh), which is bound together with its autonomous institutional parts by the institutional apex of the agrau, or tribal council, the maximal assembly in the region. This arch gives
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us an idea of the (relative) independence (autonomy?) of its columns, representing clans sustained by the nuclei of jma'ths; and all this gives us also an idea of the whole and of the harmony reigning between this whole and its different parts, of its consistency, of its solidity, and of the importance of all these factors.

FOOTNOTE: A

613 113--A few comments must first be made on Blanco's notation of this
614 diagram. Starting below ground level, we have, from left to right,
619 dhaddarth (Blanco's spelling taddartz), "house"; jajgu (Blanco's
spelling yasgo), "lineage branch"; and dharfiqth (Blanco's spelling
621 tarfik), "lineage"; and further to the right, the commentary "family
623 group" (grupo familiar). At or just below ground level, slightly
594 above, we see the commentary, to the right and above "family group",
"line of blood" (linea [illegible]e sangre). At ground level, from left to
596 right, we have dhamzyida (Blanco's spelling tamesguida), "mosque";
114 jma'th (Blanco's spelling yemaa); and iziddjifen (Blanco's spelling
islifen), "lineage headmen"; and, further to the right, the commentary "council" (consejo). Further up, each of the three columns proper is labeled, from left to right, suq (Blanco's spelling sok), "market"; qanun (Blanco's spelling kanon), "custom", and imqqranen (Blanco's spelling imkranen), "council members (of the clan)"; and further to the right is the commentary "clan" (fraction). The apex is the dhaqbitsh (Blanco's spelling taqbilt), or "tribe", with a commentary by Blanco to the right: "tribe" (tribu); above this, in brackets, is Aitharba'in "tribal council" (Blanco's spelling ait arbain); above this, agrau (Blanco's spelling agrao), "council meeting site"; and above all, is The Rif (El Rif).

I find this diagram, with its ever upward and onward orientation, very neat as a conceptual plaything...In its theoretical and abstract niceties, it appears almost more the work of a Frenchman than that of a Spaniard. Could this possibly be attributed to Montagne's undeniable influence on Blanco's thinking? However, I seriously question the diagram on the grounds of to what extent it really reflects structural realities (insofar as a structural model of any society created by an anthropologist can be said to approximate the social realities of that society) of Rifian society; and also on the grounds that territorial vs. segmentary features of Rifian social structure, and the roles that these features play within that structure, are neither defined vis-a-vis each other nor in relation to the whole. The whole structure as Blanco gives it is, in fact, too neat, too simple, and too classic (or perhaps Doric?), like the Greek (and most unRifian) arch upon which he models it.

A,[See diagram on p.127-B--Analyst]

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[619]

H) The Traditional Jma'ths of the Aith Waryaghar:

In the tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, which possesses an extremely complex social structure[114].....the traditional jma'th contains nuclei so scattered that it is not rare to see them within all three qa'idates into which, at the present day (1935) and from an administrative viewpoint, the tribe is divided. Within the Arab and Makhzin, or governmental, framework into which an attempt has been made to fit the organization of the Rifian tribes, this fact presupposes an almost insuperable administrative impossibility, that of making them (i.e. the traditional jma'ths) revive. The mosaic of the traditional jma'ths was one over which the chief himself (e.g. 'Abd al-Krim) stumbled, and which he put aside instead of resolving, merely superimposing his own circumstantial wartime organization over it[115].

[648]

[643]

Let us look at a few of the pieces in this mosaic.

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1) Aith Mhand u Yihya:--A jma'th (of the clan of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari) which is found to be divided into two more jma'ths: one situated in the Plain of Alhucemas, and in the vicinity of the bridge over the Ghis River, and, for this reason, belonging to the Qa'idate of l-Uta (in Rifian, r-Udha, "plain"); and the other, the original, ancestral and founding one, situated south of the Suq r-Had or Sunday Market of Thisar[116], and belonging, administratively, to the Qa'idate of the Upper Ghis.

2) Ixatshumen (mountain pronunciation) or Ikttumen (Plain of Alhucemas pronunciation, and written in Arabic as Ikiltumen):--This traditional jma'th (also of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari clan) is also

621 614 candidate for earliest occupancy and for the foundation of the jma'th. As it happens, this is the case here.

621 613 Passing now to the jma'th of Aith Bukhrif, we see, analogously, that while the founding or ancestral dharfiqth, Aith Wuzghar, that of the present (1935) Qa'id of Nkur, Haddu n Muh Amzzyan, is considered to be descended from the "Aith Ya'ra" or Bni Marin, the former inhabitants of the City of Nkur[125], the other dharfiqin making up the jma'th do so without any apparent relationship to each other.
[614] ● [619] The kin group whose ancestor arrived first was an Imrabdhen lineage from Ibdharsen, formed by the Aith Siddiq, Aith Tumritsh and Aith Tizza; this was followed by Aith Yunis, from the clan of Asht Yunis in the tribe of Igzinnayen; and finally, by the I'addiyen from the tribe of Axt Tuzin, the most recent of all.

If we turn now to the jma'th of Tazurakhth, we see the same thing, but with an increase in complexity, for the dharfiqth which is
621 613 614 619 considered to be the founding one is that of Aith Bukhudam[126]. This group later received the following additional increments: a dharfiqth named Aith Ufaran from the subclan of Aith Turirth to the south; a second, much larger dharfiqth from the jma'th of Igar Ufadhis (local pronunciation Iyar Ufadhis) in the clan of Aith Bu Idhir of the tribe of Thimsaman, named Aith r-Qman (comprising today the four dharfiqin of Aith 'Aru Hammu, Yinn[127] 'Abdssram Bu 'Azza, Yinn 'Abd Allah u Hmidh and Ibaranen[128]); a third, Aith Tizi Marda, came from the clan of Amjau in the East Rifian tribe of Aith S'aid; a fourth, Ihamdiwen, from the jma'th of Asht Tghirasth[129] in the clan of Asht Yunis in the tribe of Igzinnayen; a fifth, from Aith 'Aisa in the tribe of Aith S'aid[130];

621 a sixth, a large one named *Aith 'Aisa*, from the *jma'th* of *Aith 'Ammar*
613 *u S'aid* in the subclan of Iraqraqen in the clan of Aith Hadhifa (com-
644 prising today the two *dharfiqin* of Aith 'Aisa--sometimes referred to
● 619 as Aith 'Aisa w Anu, or "the sons of 'Aisa of the well"--and Aith Injin); a seventh, Aith Si Humand 'Aisa, from the clan of Aith 'Abd Allah; and an eighth, and last, Aith Tihar, from the *jma'th* of *Tfsast* in the subclan of Timarzga to the South.

621 The net result of all the foregoing is that even such a multiplicity of examples will not clarify the question for us, considering that, in Aith Waryaghar, there are traditional *jma'ths* which have been split since antiquity, and split in such a way that to bring them together again now would create a tremendous political as well as administrative difficulty[131]. This would, indeed, be next to impossible, due to the difficulties of all kinds already felt by the Rifians prior to the Spanish occupation, difficulties which brought them to the transcendental act of separation. This fact on the one hand, and, on the other, the fact that the traditional *jma'th* in Aith Waryaghar does not seem to present an ancestry which is common to all its constituent groups or a type of "family origin" (i.e. common ancestorship) in the form or for the ends which interest the order of the Spanish regional administration. Under these conditions, it seems the best thing in this tribe, if our knowledge should not lead us to other conclusions, to continue the sedimentation initiated some time ago, avoiding modifications which do not justify an imperious necessity or a convenience manifest to all lights, something which even the author was unable to avert, and to discount, for this reason, any......or superficially learned innovatory zeal.[132]

631 621 augmentation to the "building" or "house" of Rifian society (of which the traditional jma'th is the "cornerstone").[141]

631 619 621 Aith Waryaghar, then, could be organized in the following way:

I) QA'IDATE OF L-UTA: Shaikhate of Aith Yusif w 'Ari --12 jma'ths
Shaikhate of Imrabdhen --15 jma'ths

II) QA'IDATE OF NKUR: Shaikhate of Bni Bu 'Ayyash --16 jma'ths
Shaikhate of l-Jbil --16 jma'ths

III) QA'IDATE OF UPPER GHIS: Shaikhate of Bni Hadifa --12 jma'ths
Shaikhate of Bni 'Abd Allah --16 jma'ths

Total----87 jma'ths

000 If this organization is applied to the other tribes[142], the patron must be remembered in salary gradation, so that salaries do not turn out to be prejudiced as the Aith Waryaghar have been, up to now, both in salary and category of their office-holders and tribal authorities.

Ajdir, August 27, 1935.

I) Notes on the Igzinnayen:

101 1) Etymology and Language:--The word Gzinnaya (Rifian Igzinnayen) is derived from Berber gizna, meaning "libertine"[143]. The 191 tribesmen of Igzinnayen are bilingual, although even so, Rifian speech has a far greater predominance over Arabic. Their men of letters [212] (fqihs, etc.), although they know how to read and write Arabic, express themselves very poorly in that language, and their grammatical construction tends to be bad. Knowledge of French is extremely slight,

191 if not non-existent[144]......In some of the tribal place names the in-
[101] flux of both Arabic and Berber may be noticeably discerned[145], which
in some cases gives rise to a true amalgamation which its (i.e. the
name's) Arab or Berber origin does not define with any certainty[146].

186 2) Origins:--The Igzinnayen are proud of their Berber origin
and consider themselves to be of a superior race. The Rifian from
Igzinnayen holds his Arab neighbor from the tribe of Branis in no
little contempt[147]......In the tribe of Igzinnayen, one may observe
619 144 two nuclei of population which show great ethnic differences, one
184 situated north of Tizi Usli, between Azru Aqshar[148] and Axt Tuzin,
in which there predominates, as much in physical type as in language
and customs, the features characteristic of the Berber origin of this
tribe; and the other nucleus, located to the southeast of the first,
648 is of Arab origin[149]. The scorn which the Berbers felt for their
[186] Arab neighbors, combined with the fact that the latter recognized and
obeyed the government of the Makhzin[150], gave rise to frequent feuds
between the people of each region; and in these tribal wars, the
"Berber" group was almost always victorious. During their liff strug-
619 648 gles, both the warring bands sought aid from among their next-door
neighbors; for while the "berber" band received help from the Axt Tuzin,
the "Arab" band was able to count upon the support of the Mtalsa
(Rifian Ibdharsen) and Branis[151].

114 Up to the present time, it has not been possible to unravel
619 the ethnic origins of the Igzinnayen, which are highly confused[152].
Moulieras, who was never in Morocco, considers them Berbers for the
simple reason that they speak Rifian dhamazighth, an essentially

114 unfounded argument which is insufficient for making up any definitive
619 listing, for it excludes other criteria. The famous historian from
Sevilla (read "Tunis"), Ibn Khaldun, who also never visited Morocco,
places them among the descendants of the Sinhajat al-Litham, or
"Veiled Sinhaja", who emigrated over all North Africa after having
619 left their original home in southern Algeria. My own humble opinion
is that in the Igzinnayen we are confronted with a tribe of purely
Berber origin, around which many diversified elements came to establish themselves.

142 The Arab, in general, is a man of deliberate movements, thin,
157 long-faced and giving the impression that a certain spiritual elegance
emanates from him; the Berber, in general, is much more brusque and
abrupt, with a short neck and a round face, and, in speaking, he
gesticulates in such a way as to give the impression that he is talking with his eyes rather than with his mouth. Whether Arab, Arabo-
619 Berber or pure Berber, the origins of the Igzinnayen are very
obscure.[153]

The founders of the tribe originated from the Ulad Akthir (unidentifiable), who, in Tamjund and Buridh (of the Asht 'Asim clan) gave rise to the Asht Bu Zkri (or Izkrithen), Ibaqriyen and Iharrasen; in Azru (of the Asht Yunis), to the Farzugu (unidentifiable), Asht Ishaq and Asht 'Aisa (unidentifiable); in Aqwir (of the Imzdwar), to the Asht Tirmamin and the Asht Tighda 'Ali.

The Jbarna (of the Asht r-Udha clan) have their origin in Imzdurar; they reached their present territory at a time which is impossible to determine. A large number of their families own land

619 [423] [191] A large number of their families own land in the region immediately north of Jbil 'Ain 'Uqqa. They are bilingual, but they prefer to speak Rifian, which they learn as children.

The l-'Atamna (of the Asht r-Udha) say that they are descended from the Huwwara, which does not seem probable, considering that they all show "Berber" characteristics and that the Hawwara were "Arabs".

The Dharwa Haddu consider themselves to be descended from the Ulad 'Assu bin 'Abd Allah (Rifian Asht 'Assu 'Abd Allah) and from the Eastern Rifian tribe of Aith Bu Yihyi[154].....The ancestors of Hamza bin 'Abd Allah are buried in the latter area, near the Angad.

A large number of Igzinnayen, some 1500 families, mostly from [166] Asht 'Asim, left their own land to move to l-Mta, just north of Fez. Various reasons have been given for this, the most probable being that of poverty[155].

The Asht r-Udha, Ishawiyen, Bu Isri and Izimmuren (of the Asht r-Udha) are descendants of Abu 'Amama, whose grandfather Talib ibn Isma'il ibn Hamza ibn 'Abd Allah of Rashida was appointed basha of Igzinnayen by the Sultan 'Abd Allah Hamrini Tamrin in the 7th century A.H. On the other hand, there is still a group of Asht Hamza in the area around Aknul.

The Asht Mhand (or Bni Mhammad), in the earliest times of which the Arab chroniclers have any record, resided in the Jbil Sidi S'aid, in the area at present occupied by the shurfa of Aith Sidi S'aid in [578] [166] Mtalsa. Due to a dispute which rose up among them, they became divided. Some went to the Bni Bu Ya'la in the Branis and the rest formed the Asht Mhand of the Igzinnayen, where they are today.

The Azru Ishillahan (of Asht Uzru of the Asht Yunis clan) are of "foreign", or Andalusian origin; they came to Igzinnayen when the Muslims were expelled from Spain in 1492. Although I am dubious about this assertion, certain members of this group are considered today as "Andalusians".[156]

The people of Ihadhriyen (of the Asht Yunis) are from Jbarna[157]; those of Tghirasth (of the Asht Yunis)[158] are the descendants of Sidi Ya'qub al-Badisi, who is buried in Badis, in Bni Bu Frah.

The ancestor of the Asht r-'Arqub (of the Asht Yunis) was Sidi 'Azzuz, buried in Taza,[159] and father of Sidi al-Hajj 'Ali, who died in Zaghwan (Tripolitania), on returning from the pilgrimage to Mecca. His tomb is also in Zaghwan.

The Ikhabbaben (of the Asht Yunis) from Bni Khalid in the Branis[160], came to the Igzinnayen as a result of feuds in their homeland, as did the Asht Hazim, from the Aith Iznasan tribe in the province of Oujda[161].

The Ikhuwanan (of the Asht 'Asim) are descended from Sidi 'Abd Allah al'Khulali al-Wazzani, who is buried in Tamadda, in the Sanhaja Srir.

The Asht Marar, Asht 'Ari, Tasharbant, Asht Saghur and Asht Thiyuririn (of the Imzdurar clan), descendants of Sidi 'Athman of 'Ain Zura (Mtalsa), came gradually to install themselves in Igzinnayen, probably pushed on by poverty.[162]

The Iharshriyen and Asht Tighambuyin (of the Imzdurar), descendants of Muly Idris, came under the direction of their ancestor Sidi Hmid, whose tomb is located in Thighambuyin.

619 613 614 The ("holy" clan of the) Asht 'Aru 'Aisa are descended from Sidi Musa bin Mshish[163], the brother of one of the "poles" of Western Islam, Sidi 'Abd al-Salam bin Mshish, who is buried in the Jbil 'Alam, in the Bni 'Arus of the Jbala. Sidi Musa is buried among the Khmid(?) (unidentifiable).

The principal idea to be extracted from the foregoing is the following: around a principal nucleus consisting of Asht 'Asim, Imzdurar and Asht Marar[164], clans which are known to and recognized by all the Igzinnayen, there came over the course of time an infinite number of lineages originating from very diverse points of northern Morocco; and these lineages intermingled with the above. Their motives for so doing varied between hunger and war. They were brought to the Rif either because there was no room for them elsewhere or because the possibilities of living well there attracted them.....It is probably necessary to look for their origins in regions which are particularly barren and unproductive, such as the Khuld of Huwwara or the northern part of the Angad Plain, in the case of elements from the Aith Bu Yihyi; the Tafrata for the Ahl Rashida, the clayey hills of Mtalsa, and, in general, all the places more or less bordering the Mulwiya River, which, even if they are by no means paradises, are at least hospitable (sic)[165].

794 871 [793] 3) Qur'anic Instruction: --This is organized in exactly the same way as it is among the Rifian tribes in the Spanish Zone, and is largely beyond the control of the Administration....There is usually a school in each village, the fqih of which is paid annually and in kind by its inhabitants. Instruction is carried out almost

794 completely independently of the French authorities, and is done as a
871 rule in areas which generally lack the most elementary conditions of
hygiene and sanitation; and pedagogical procedures are very antiquated
and inefficacious, and are limited to instruction of the Qur'an....
[872] Almost all the schools are of "primary instruction", and those dedi-
[873] cated to "secondary instruction" are few and far between[166]. Some
[829] students cross the border to study in the Axt Tuzin, Aith Waryaghar
[876] and Thimsaman, not because the schools in those tribes are better,
but because the Rifians believe a youth studies better if he is away
from his family....The students, or imhadaren, eat the ma'ruf[167], and
their teachers generally are given honoraria in kind.

692 4) Judiciary Organization:--There is a qadi in Aknul who serves all of the Igzinnayen, and he holds court every Tuesday, which is market day in Aknul, and once a month in Tizi Usli (market day on Mondays) and in Buridh (market day on Wednesdays)...

5) Water Points:--The area which is richest in springs is that
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103 of Jibarna, in the Asht r-Udha, in which the following springs are to
be found: 'Ain Ta'amt, 'Ain bin Husain, 'Ain Khannus, 'Ain Bu Twilal, 'Ain Rahab, 'Ain Ulad bin 'Amar, and 'Ain Dar Qa'id Midbuh. In the Asht Mhand, there are two large springs in 'Ain 'Allal; and in Asht Marar, there are 'Ain Barda, 'Ain Fargugen, 'Ain Hmid, 'Ain Darduren, 'Ain Marja, and 'Ain Tassa[168].

619 6) Political Situation and Way of Life:--This tribe never
[631] formed part of any confederation, and in spite of the feuds to which
we have referred above, it has always maintained its geographical and organizational unity. Today it may be said that there are no ostensible

Today it may be said that there are no ostensible
619 and important divisions among the different clans of the Igzinnayen....
614 The Igzinnayen are sedentary and inhabit fixed houses, which, as
361 among the Rifian tribes in the Spanish Zone, are located along the
edges of valleys, in fertile lands, and, in a word, wherever life
is easier. Nevertheless, there is, aside from the tribal hamlet-villages,
619 no agglomeration of importance....The tribe is divided
614 administratively into seven clans, each one headed by a shaikh except
for Asht 'Asim, which is divided into three shaikhates. One of the
[621] latter is made up of the communities of Buridh, Tamjund and Imharrushen,
[631] another by those of Ifran, Iaqrru'an and Iharrasen, and the
third by Inhanahan, Thara Tazzugwakhth and Iharshriyen[169]; all these
619 clans ("fractions") are headed by a qa'id. The tribe of Igzinnayen
presents a line of penetration between the tribes of the Rif and those
of the Eastern Gharb, as it has been utilized over a long period of
time as a path for incursions by the mountaineers into the plain.

619 7) Political Division:--Qaid (1940): Si Bu Tahar n Mqaddim
614 Saihi.

621 a) Clan ("fraction") of Jibarna: contains villages of Asht Hammu w 'Amar, I'athmanen (l-'Atamna), Dharwa Haddum Jibarna and Suyah. Shaikh (1940): Muhammed l-Mihdi Fars.

b) Clan ("fraction") of Ishawiyen (Shawiya): contains villages of Dharwa 'Abdallah, Dharwa n Tawunza, Bu Isri, Imrabdhen n Wawizaght[170], Aknul, Nadhur, Ihammuthen and Izimmuren. Shaikh (1940): Bushta nj-Qa'id Buhush.

c) Clan ("fraction") of Marar: contains villages of Thighzrathin, Tasharbant, Dharwa 'Ari, Zarhun, Fiddan l-Kbir, Thighambuyin,

619 Thirmamin, Ifillasen, Asht r-Ahsin u Musa, Afarzaz and Tiyuririn.
614 Shaikh (1940): Muhammad Bu Thuyis.
621

d) Clan ("fraction") of Asht Mhand: contains villages of Asht Bujtuh, Asht Tayyar and Asht Ziyan. Shaikh (1940): Muhammad n Ka'was.

e) Clan ("fraction") of Asht Yunis: contains villages of Azru, Asht Hazim, Thaghirasth, Ihadhriyen, r-'Arqub and Ikhabbaben.

f) Clan ("fraction") of Asht 'Aru 'Aisa: contains villages of Dwaiyar, Tighza, Jbil Sidi 'Aisa, Waumkwarth and Thinimrar. Shaikh (1940): 'Abd r-Qadar n Muhand Aqudhadh.

g) Clan ("fraction") of Asht 'Asim: one part contains villages of Ifran, Iqarru'an and Iharrasen; another, those of Buridh, Tamjund and Iharrushen; and the third, Inhanahan, Iharshriyen and Thara Tazzugwakhth. The shaikhs of each (1940): 'Abdallah n Zimbib, Muh n Mis'aud and Si Muh n Biqqish.

175 8) History:--There are no precise dates on the history of the Igzinnayen until the occupation of the tribe by the Pretender Bu Hmara. [628] It appears that prior to this time the tribe was consumed in intestinal [616] struggles between lfuf, as all Berber and Arab tribes were. These were disputes without interest in which the fortune and existence of the protagonists and their people were at stake.

175
554 When Bu Hmara (Jilali Zarhuni) occupied the country of the Igzinnayen, he came to the qasba at Msun (in the Asht r-Udha), and afterwards he met with the subclans of the Asht Haddu and I'athmanen[171]. Useless resistance on the part of the latter was severely punished, and their two chiefs, the Hajj Hammada and the Fqih 'Abbu, brought to heel,

000 almost postulate a sequence more or less as follows: people (and particularly the most important ones, i.e. members of the council) gather in the mosque on Fridays. This, in Durkheimian terms, would make a neat example of the three-way continuum of time, space and society! The fact that the Rifian term for mosque is *dhamzidha* in no way negates this rather attractive hypothesis (suggested by Ernest Gellner, personal communication, Feb. 4, 1961), for *dhamzidha* is itself derived from another Arabic word for mosque, *masjid*.

11--*Dhaqbitsh*, pl. *dhiqbar* (from Arabic *qabila*) is the Rifian term for "tribe", the ceiling unit in the region.

613 621 619 114 614 12--"Fraction": translator's quotation marks. This term, very current in the literature on North African social structure (and deriving from Arabic *nuss*, "half", *tulut*, "third", *rba'*, "fourth" and *khums*, "fifth", each one of which usually refers to the number of clans or top-level segments a given tribe contains), is one which I find both imprecise and misleading. What one should read for "fraction" is either clan or maximal, primary or top-level segment of a tribe. What is totally missing in the term "fraction" is a notion of process.

As Blanco himself thought the term "fraction" absurd (as he indicated in a pencilled comment on a report on village etymologies in the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar by another interventor, dated 1939), we shall henceforth take his cue and call it "clan"--even though he continued to employ "fraction" in the bulk of his writing!

13--The concept of the relative autonomy or independence of the tribal clan (Blanco's "fraction") is, as far as we know, an original contribution by Blanco to the overall study of Berber social structure (even though Blanco's thinking may have had its roots, on this score, in Montagne, op. cit., 1930). It is, considering the time and place it appeared, a challenging and cogent theory, and Blanco discusses it at length in the chapter on *Social Organization*, as well as in *La Ley Rifeña*, 1939. The fact that the notions of balance and opposition in all segmentary societies have become anthropological commonplaces since Evans-Pritchard's Nuer work does not vitiate Blanco's argument.

000 14--Again, in the choice of words which these notes represent, Blanco gives no definition, and we fear that, although a literal translation renders the reading awkward, a substitution of our own terms might falsify what he had in mind, namely, to attempt to establish criteria for differentiation between social and political units. In our opinion, most of these distinctions exist in the author's mind only, and do not correspond to any sociopolitical realities; for, on upper levels of segmentation at least, social units and political units invariably tend to merge.

15--It is, of course, true that only men make alliances, wage war and engage in politics (councils, etc.), but there seems no need to belabor this rather obvious point. More subtle, however, is the implicit--and possibly unintentional--distinction made between social structure and territorial organization. In the Rif, as elsewhere, the territorial organization reflects a genealogically oriented social system which has been brought down to ground level, so to speak, and

000 arranged in spatial terms. The correspondence between a territorial
system and a lineage system is always approximate, and sometimes,
even, very close indeed, but it is, for a variety of reasons,
never quite complete.

16--"Group" is hardly the right word to give to an institution or a
[114] socio-cultural category; but one can see that it was well intended
and that Blanco was groping in the right direction. In most instances
[128] in which his choice of terms is obviously wrong, we have
tried to rectify this by the substitution of other words which seem
more nearly to fit the context.

17--*Imrabdhen*, sing. *amrabidh* (from Arabic *murabit*) are saints, living
or dead, who, in the mind of the average Rifian, are often confused
with *shurfa*, or descendants of the Prophet. The role of imrabdhen or
[627] *shurfa* as moderators in intra- or inter-tribal disputes is, indeed,
[628] perhaps the primary one which they (or some of them, for there are
many who are functionally completely indistinguishable from ordinary
tribesmen) play in Rifian society.

[563] 18--The role of Jews in the Rif is indeed a primarily economic one--
they are jewelers and pack-saddle makers, and their social status is
(or was, as there are none left there today) the humblest in the
area, for they never carried arms and were always under the protection
of a clan or lineage headman who, if necessary, would defend them to
the death. In short, they were and are despised, but their services
[114] were needed. But why Blanco mentions them, an ethnic group, in the
same breath with a series of economic institutions is a bit difficult
to fathom.

181 19--As noted, the Rif formed an integral part of the *blad as-siba*, and
114 Blanco's conceptualization of Rifian society as representing an "organized
anarchy" may easily, in the traditionalist frame of reference, be
extended to cover the whole notion of *siba*. In another publication we
have already set forth our views on the usual French definition of
this term, which goes back to Montagne, of *siba* as "anarchy", a notion
which seems to us, in the last analysis, invalid, implying as it does
a complete lack of government (cf. David M. Hart, "Emilio Blanco
Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", *Tamuda*, VI, 2, 1958, pp.
171-237). More recently, however (and a point which we overlooked in
the abovementioned article), there has been a certain modification by
at least one French scholar of this traditionally accepted viewpoint--
[113] cf. André Adam, *La Maison et le Village dans Quelques Tribus de
l'Anti-Atlas*, Collection Hesperis, vol. XIII, Paris: Larose, 1951,
p. 30, and personal communication, 1959. This modification, in effect,
[619] concedes that anarchy within Berber society is an inapplicable term,
but that it is still valid if the society is viewed from without, or
from above, because the highest organizational or structural stage
which Berbers have attained is that of the tribe only, never that of
the nation-state. And if we read between the lines of Blanco's words,
this, or something akin to it, is very probably what he had in mind
when writing of "organized anarchy".

000
[114] 71--Blanco assigns the jma'th a predominants geographical or territorial role, while the dharfiqth is given a genealogical one. So far, so good; but, at the risk of adding to the confusion, I think that Blanco mistakes jma'th in this context with dshar, "village, hamlet, community", for jma'th invariably embodies the idea of "people". However, it does not embody any notion of genealogical relationships, and thus Blanco's error is minor, and thoroughly understandable.

[114] 72--Not, obviously, in a literal sense; but even though Blanco no doubt employed it to bolster his ideas on lineage and segment shifts, the word was badly chosen.

[411]
[648] 73--Rifles turned in to the Spanish authorities (often with grave reluctance on their owners' part) after pacification of the Rif in 1926 often formed an index, in administrative reports, to a tribe's fighting strength.

74--We know of no mosque in the Rif which only serves a single family, well-to-do or not.

[212] 75--Qanun, pl. qawanin, is, in Rifian parlance, a document drawn up in Arabic which records decisions of the village or tribal council on matters of local interest; or, more often, it merely refers to such decisions themselves, without benefit of documentary evidence.

● [619] 76--By this Blanco means that an offshoot of jma'th A which through the process of lineage scission has moved physically to tribe B will have property in tribe B. This stands to reason; but the only ties which the new jma'th retains with its "brother" in its former home are those of memory and sentiment. For all practical and functional purposes, it is now a naturalized subsegment of another tribe, and it must conform to the custom of that tribe.

[114] 77--Blanco's theory of clan autonomy is most interesting and challenging, and is discussed at some length in La Ley Rifeña. It has, however, one grave shortcoming: its omission of the fact that such clan autonomy is always relative to the tribe. Vide our article "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", op. cit., 1958, p.194.

[648] 78--Blanco does not say, but it is possible that such sites may be attributed to the "Portuguese", whom Rifians say once occupied the Rif until "our ancestors rose up against them and drove them out, brandishing sickles in their hands".

[114] 79--This is an error of fact, at least in part. Today, the Aith 'Ammarth and the Ibuqquyen have only one market apiece, the former on Mondays and the latter, at Ruwadi, on Sundays; and to my knowledge, except for one women's market which is now defunct, Aith 'Ammarth has always had only one market. Blanco's own market listing, furthermore, brings out this fact: I) Aith Waryaghar--Mondays at Aith Bu 'Ayyash and Aith Hadhifa; Tuesdays at Dharan n-Dhihlaliyin in the clan of Aith 'Abd Allah (this market no longer functions, having been superseded by the Monday market at Aith Hadhifa); Wednesday at Sidi Bu 'Afif in the clan of Aith Yusif w 'Ali (also no longer functioning and superseded by a newer market on Saturdays at Imzuren which was set up by the Spanish administration) and at Turirth for the three mountain subclans of Aith Turirth, Aith Timarzga and Aith 'Arus; Thursdays at Imrabdhen;

000 Ulad 'Abbu and J'auna) and in the Igzinnayen (or Gzinnaya: Bni 'Asim, Bni Yunis, Ulad 'Ali bin 'Aida, Bni Mhammad, Ulad l-Uta, and Imzdurar, of which only the last mentioned retains its Berber name, "mountaineers").

[114] [829] 147--The Branis tribe (Arabic branis, sing. barnus, "burnous") is very probably Berber by descent; but it is, as Blanco notes, entirely Arabic speaking today (as is Igzinnayen's other neighbor, Marnisa), and Rifians consider it "jabalan" rather than as one of their own.

[133] 148--Tizi Usli, "the pass of the bridegroom", is a tribal administration post in the northeastern Igzinnayen, while Azru Aqshar, "bald rock" or "bald mountain", is, at 2010 meters, the highest peak in the Central Rifian area, and is located just north of Tizi Usli, which nestles in its shadow.

[114] 149--Blanco is in error here, for all of Igzinnayen are Rifians, and of Berber origin. Even if they were not, there would in any case be little basis for a (largely artificial) contrast in physical type and/or language and/or institutions; and once again, Blanco is groping with outmoded anthropological theory.

150--As noted, the "Arab-Berber" dichotomy which Blanco draws within Igzinnayen is largely a figment of his imagination. The southern clans of Igzinnayen neither "obeyed" nor "resisted" the Makhzin in pre-Protectorate times, any more than the northern ones or any of the other Rifian tribes did. In fact, aside from Bushta al-Bahdadi's punitive expedition to Ibuqquyen in 1898, the Makhzin tended to leave the Rifians severely alone. Informants say that the sultans Mulay al-Hasan, Mulay 'Abd al-Aziz and Mulay Hafidh all appointed qa'ids and shaikhs in all the Rifian tribes, but such "appointments" were nothing but dahirs which ratified the already existing tribal and clan chiefs. In the Rif, therefore, the notion of "Republik" or siba was essentially characterized by a lack of contact between tribes and central government; and the above-mentioned dahirs merely preserved the status quo.

● 619 151--Like the Aith Waryaghar, the Igzinnayen are regarded as being divided into either two or five top segments, according to one's informants, although, unlike Aith Waryaghar, the problem of segment discontinuity within the tribe is (virtually) non-existent. The division into two top segments gives us the following: Asht Bu 'Amar and Asht r-Manth. Asht Bu 'Amar is in turn segmented into Asht Yunis and Asht 'Asim; and the first of these, Asht Yunis, is again segmented into Asht Yunis Proper, Asht 'Aru 'Aisa and Asht Mhand, while the second Asht 'Asim, is divided into Asht 'Asim Proper and Asht Findish. Asht r-Manth is segmented into Imzdurar and Asht r-Udha.

The division into five top segments bypasses the level of the top to give us Asht 'Asim, Asht Yunis, Asht Mhand, Imzdurar and Asht r-Udha; and immediately we note a discrepancy between the two systems. In the first, Asht Mhand is given the status of a subsegment of Asht Yunis, while in the second it is a top-level segment or clan in its own right; and the Qa'id Haddu n Muh Amzzyan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash (Aith Waryaghar), who was 'Abd al-Krim's top field commander in the Igzinnayen in 1925-26 and who provided us with the second set of data, told me

619 that in the Igzinnayen, the Asht Mhand were intrusive "fifth wheels"
exactly as the Imrabdhen were in the Aith Waryaghar. Coon (op. cit.,
619 1931, p. 19), on the other hand, calls them "autochthonous heathen"
114 because of their origin traditions, and this would accord more with
the two-segment division above, which assigns them to a firmer position
in the total structure (even though elsewhere in the same work,
on p. 92, Coon himself endorses a five-fold division). The two-segment
619 division, afforded us by the *shaikh* of Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, is
probably the more correct one, although the hypothesis of the Qa'id
616 Haddu is attractive from the standpoint of balance and imbalance of
114 *liffs*, and it is supported indirectly by Blanco's statement in the
text that the Asht Mhand came originally from the Mtalsa, which would
help explain their later *liff* affiliations.

The two *liffs* of the Igzinnayen were those of Asht Bu 'Amar and Asht r-Manth, with affiliations as above, so that in this tribe, the *liff* system did not cut across the segmentary system as in Aith Waryaghar, but was, rather, co-extensive with it. Not only this, but it corresponded, in general, to Blanco's notion of "northern" and "southern" *liffs*, although without the "Berber vs. Arab" overtones which he suggests. It is true, furthermore, that the moiety of Asht Bu 'Amar, which was bigger than that of Asht r-Manth, usually won, although it is theoretically possible, as the Qa'id Haddu implied, that the presence of Asht Mhand in the Asht Bu 'Amar *liff* may have tipped the balance. However, this is purely speculation, and in any event *liff* affiliations shifted about the time of World War I or very shortly thereafter, and before the rise to power of 'Abd al-Krim: one moiety, consisting of Asht 'Asim and Asht 'Aru 'Aisa only, crystallized around the person of the Hajj Muhand Biqqish of Ikhuwanen (Asht 'Asim), who became the most powerful man in Igzinnayen and who was eventually poisoned by 'Abd al-Krim; and the other, consisting of the rest of the tribe, formed around Si Hmid Ubarshan of Azru (Asht Yunis). It may be noted that this shift in alliances did nothing to restore a balance, and the two *liffs* remained as asymmetrical as they had done previously.

After the crystallization of this alignment, the neighboring
619 tribes became involved as follows: in favor of Biqqish were the Aith
616 'Ammarth (who were his affines), the Timarzga of the Aith Waryaghar
(into whom Biqqish's daughter had married) and thus also classificatory
affines), the Iznagen of the Axt Tuzin; and after the death of
Qa'id 'Amar Hamidu, half of the Marnisa; and in favor of Si Hmid Ubarshan
were the Aith Turirth and Aith 'Arus of the Aith Waryaghar (who
were against the Timarzga), the rest of Axt Tuzin, the rest of the
Marnisa, Mtalsa, and Branis. And the disequilibrium of forces still
held.

Blanco's statement, therefore, that Axt Tuzin helped the "nor-
[114] thern" *liff* (of Asht Bu 'Amar) and that Mtalsa and Branis helped the
"southern" *liff* (of Asht r-Manth) is entirely plausible. The Axt Tuzin
are neighbors of the Asht Yunis, while the Mtalsa borders the Asht
Mhand, and the Branis are bounded by the Asht r-Udha; and this would
explain why all three tribes later came to support the *liff* of Si Hmid
Ubarshan. It should be noted, however, that wars between the Igzinnayen
and the Branis were very frequent; and when they occurred, the
tendency was for the former to patch up their own differences and gang
up on the latter.

000 [114] [311] 165--The "hospitality" of the landscape around the Mulwiya River contradicts Blanco's earlier remark about unproductivity; and the Central Rif itself, in any event, is one of the poorest and most barren regions of Morocco.

166--"Primary instruction", or ta'lim al-awwal, is the basic Qur'anic instruction which the fqih gives young boys in the village mosque, while "secondary instruction", or ta'lim ath-thani, is a step beyond this--post-graduate study, as it were, in the Friday mosque. By this time the amhadar has become a tarib; he can theoretically read and write the Qur'an, and he also becomes versed in the writing of charms and amulets and the sewing of jillabas.

[431] 167--Ma'ruf is a gift of either money or food to the students in the mosque.

168--The most obvious spring in the Asht Marar, Thara Tazzugwakhth or, in Arabic, 'Ain Hamra, which produces the best mineral water in the Rif, even though it only trickles out of the source, is not mentioned.

169--These last three communities are traditionally affiliated with the clan of Imzdurar, not with Asht 'Asim.

170--The Imrabdhen of Wawizaght are also termed Imrabdhen Ya'gubi, and are considered shurfa.

171--Midbuh was from Asht r-Udha; Buhut r-'Asimi, as his name indicates, from Buridh in Asht 'Asim; and 'Allal n Dahu from Asht Mhand.

172--For "anarchy", read "Ripublik".

[616] [578] 173--Of Azru, who later became the head of one of the main tribal liffs in opposition to Hajj Biqqish of Ikhuwanen in Asht 'Asim.

174--Now held at Tizi Usli.

[616] [619] 175--In his earlier years, however, Biqqish only had control of his own liff of Asht 'Asim and Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, while Si Hmid Ubarshan had the rest of the tribe under his thumb.

[613] [616] The dharfiqth of Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim in Aith Yusif of Thimarzga in Aith Waryaghar were Biqqish's in-laws, through the marriage of his daughter Mimuna to Muh n 'Amar jn-Mqaddim (see text); and the liff created between Biqqish and this single lineage of Aith Waryaghar was strong enough for them to support him against 'Abd al-Krim later on; and 'Abd al-Krim, in consequence, burned their houses.

176--Afuzar is on the border of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen, between Asrafil (Thimarzga) on the Waryaghar side and Iharrushen (Asht 'Asim) on that of the Igzinnayen.

[776] [778] 177--The principal saint of the Marnisa. Near the Monday Market of the Aith 'Ammarth is the mosque of Sidi 'Ari n Dawud, where the Aith 'Ammarth all go to take oath; but Sidi 'Ari himself is buried in Marnisa.

178--The date of Biqqish's death is not certain, but probably early 1926. His body was taken to the cemetery at Ikhuwanen for burial.

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182 This internal equilibrium between dharfiqin was maintained, more than by the play of (within) the jma'th, by the liff alliance system which, linking tribes, clans, communities and lineages into two rival bands, created the miracle of permitting the existence of minuscule units of this type amongst others more powerful, although the clarification of this point would take us further away from our present intentions.

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701 Security in external relations was attained by the connection with the upper-level units, clan and tribe, and verified by means of their representatives and the contingents of armed men which on special occasions they had to send as irregular tribal troops in a harka, which defended group interests in any revolts or fratricidal struggles.

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619 The representatives of the jma'th in its external relations are locally known by the name of imgharen, and more commonly by the Arabized term aitharbi'in (the forty: sic), because each khums (one-fifth of the tribe) generally provided eight representatives (sic)[10]. These men of the aitharbi'in were generally accompanied by an escort of aith amzzyan (or aith umzzyan?)[11] who officiated both as advisers and as witnesses to the agraw or council meeting where questions of common interest were aired and examined.

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613 When these questions necessitated armed expeditions outside the unit concerned, the (manpower) quota which each jma'th had to provide

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[114] 10--This makes a neat mathematical model, but in practice it is based upon a false premise, as it has been demonstrated previously that the term aitharbi'in refers in fact to "representatives of the people" and that it has nothing whatsoever to do with the notion of "forty".

[114] 11--The concept of aith umzzyan or imzzyanen, "little ones", "minors", as participants in the Rifian political system is, again, erroneous. It is only in the present paper that Blanco introduces the concept in this fashion.

695 the individual, in most cases. It therefore seems natural that the
829 group rather than the individual (contrary to Islamic Law) proclaims
[181] its innocence[39].

695 Although written proofs are admitted, they are not common, and
212 are always submitted previously to a fqih for his consultation. Also,
[685] certain tulba were known to take advantage of their essentially notary
function in order to falsify documents (one man even wrote up false
Sultan's dahirs, or imperial decrees, and was jailed in Tangier!);
and this did not make for any great respect of written proofs in
Arabic, a language which in any case the Rifians did not understand.
[157] Even today (1935) a Rifian who possesses a document is always looking
for people to translate it for him, as he is never satisfied with one
man's word and always suspects that the man who drew it up for him
either misrepresented him or lied to him. I have known Rifians who
want to the French Zone and even to Spain in order to obtain proper
interpretations of their personal papers! Only death will separate a
Rifian from his r-kwaghadh![40]

695 Conciliation and arbitration are the preferential jural processes in this society, where victory is difficult and defeat is hard; and one is drawn to the idea that what actually takes place is more akin to "horse trading" than to justice, in the European sense of the word.

It seems to me that the collective oath is the Rifian equivalent
of the European "word of honor", in its unadulterated sense[41]. It has
[619] a social rather than a religious significance, and, in practice, very
little ritual; it is carried out in the mosque under the eye of the
rival or plaintiff, and of those who were in on the secret, a sufficient
action for public demerit in the "Big Ones" (imqqranen)[42]

000 does it for him, or to the jma'th if no one does so.

684 f) Anyone who commits an act of bestiality must pay for the fodder of the assaulted animal for one day; and among the Aith Waryaghar, he must pay for its packsaddle as well as a 50-peseta fine, and he is cursed by the market crier in the market[74].....

2) Among the Aith 'Ammarth:

685 a) A blacksmith of....asked the qadi for a room to live in. It was given him, and in it he raised chickens, which began to eat the qadi's barley. The qadi claimed compensation from him, saying that he had to kill the chickens and leave the house. He refused to do so,
685 and made a reclamation to the shaikh, who said he was in the right.
692 Then a member of the qadi's family poisoned all the chickens, and the blacksmith complained to the mqaddim. The jma'th, as a result, met in the mosque and fined the qadi 18 duros, of which the blacksmith received only two or three.

582 b) In the village of Aith Finathen, clan of Aith r-Hasayin, one 'Amar nd-Hajj Sriman, a rich man, married his daughter to Muhammadi n Si Siddiq nd-Hajj Sriman, a poor man and one of his agnates (i.e. his
682 brother's son), in order to keep him as a servant[75]. The young man
[619] eventually killed his uncle. The tribal council was convoked, and its members punished the dead man's sons by imposing a 6000-peseta fine on them; and they in turn killed Muhammadi and paid another fine....During
662 his lifetime, 'Amar nd-Hajj Sriman, as well as his five brothers, had
623 on various occasions paid 400 duros to the jma'th to excuse themselves from participation in tribal wars.

661 c) A poor man made a goatherd of one of his younger in-laws,

3. COUNCILS, WARFARE AND ALLIANCES

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A) The Agraw:

The agraw is a meeting or convening of all the adult Rifian males in a clan or tribe who are capable of supporting their opinions by force of arms. It is an assembly of all men who carry rifles, and it has almost unlimited attributes, among which the major ones are:

a) Declaration of war and of all that this embodies (organization of attack and defense, organization of harka-s or war-parties, contingents which are levied up for distant expeditions, and establishment of agreements of friendship or alliance with neighboring tribes).

b) Guarding the security and honor of its component family and kin groups (making common cause with them, supporting them with force if necessary, and acting as mediators); thus, when the interests of any individual or of his kinsmen are harmed, and he is incapable of defending his rights, the councilmembers claim the resulting damages in his name, and, in order to obtain them, they either very soon have to take up arms, or wait and work out an alliance with other igrawn, or convoke the agraw of the group one step up the ladder.

The agraw may be on a village (or hamlet), "fractional" (or clan), or tribal level, and the only difference between these three levels lies in the number of councillors who attend the meeting on each one....The agraw is convoked by mqaddimin or shiyukh[1]; by word of mouth, [202] by arqqas or messenger (gunshots by day or bonfires--thafgirth, pl. thifgirin--at night, in case of alarm, and in both instances by cries transmitted from hilltop to hilltop, from village to village, and from mountain to plain).

634 Every man who carries a rifle drops whatever he is doing and
623 goes immediately to the council site, leaving his house, interests and
614 work in the fields to his women, who collect all their movable property,
619 animals and children, in case they have to move, and await the news,
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722 quickly transmitted, with anxiety, while they decide upon their place
of retirement (usually the house of some relative) and form a line of sentries, together with the older children. Here they follow, with analogous emotions, the events of the fight, if there is one, and
634 await its outcome....Once the men have arrived at the site of the
623 alarm, or more often at a generally determined meeting site (agraw),
614 they start to look, without orders or signals, for their kinsmen and
619 neighbors who have arrived or are just arriving. They are always
careful to seek a spatially dominant position, and remain grouped together some little distance from the other groups which are also being formed, completing a circle, in the interior of which only the chiefs, who are rapidly informed of the matter and of the opinions of their subordinates, may enter. Such opinions are impassioned ones, as they have been forged (in case of alarm) on the spur of the moment, on the basis of what those who echo them have heard, or on the basis of what is going on around them; one can distinguish the feverish voices of the kinsmen and friends of the injured party, who want immediate reparation.

634 In this heated atmosphere the delineation by the chiefs of the
623 matter at hand begins; they are attentive not so much to what happens
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619 in their own little circle, but to the stormy atmosphere being created
692 on the outside one and pressing in on them....If the matter is one of

634 If the matter is one of
623 imposition of a fine, the deliberations are rendered longer, through
614 haggling, and more methodical, because in such an instance custom
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692 decrees that half of it (i.e. the fine) goes to those who impose it,
681 the chiefs within the small circle, and the other half, to the injured
parties and their kinsmen (the sector, or the whole big outside
circle).[2 & 3]

1) War:

634 a) Declaration:--War surges up frequently from agraw meet-
619 ings; at times, a meeting terminates in rifle shots. This may not be
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623 a very politic declaration, but, equally, it is not a very rare one.
628 ....Ordinarily, the separation and departure of those who have come
721 together and convened at a council meeting without having arrived at
any agreement is considered tantamount to a declaration of war, which all the threatening components hastily retire in order to prepare.... Only the later intervention of new emissaries can put off hostilities. This in itself is uncommon, because from the moment the meeting is theoretically over, disputes and quarrels begin in fact, and the life expectancy of such emissaries would thus become extremely slight.

628 b) Fighting:--Usually the plan of attack is instinctive,
721 logical and clear to all: the accusers, being warned and prepared beforehand, are the attackers and take the offensive, while the accused,
(624) surprised by the result, are on the defensive. No war chiefs have
been previously appointed. The objective is clear and simple for every combatant, namely, to exterminate the opposite group and take over its property. Very soon combat parties are drawn up, through reasons of kinship, friendship and geographical proximity; at night,

701 own jma'ths; they were headed by men of their own localities; and 'Abd al-Krim only reserved for himself the right to nominate individuals in his confidence for top positions[5].

● [619] The contingents of each tribe were headed by the notables of that tribe, and were instructed independently within the whole harka agglomerate. 619 726 701 The tribal notables received news of the objectives they had to attain; they took their contingents into battle; and afterwards, they abandoned the field and brought their harkas home.... [621] [623] Through their representatives in the agraw, the jma'ths knew the contingent which was requested, and they made the division and nominated the chiefs[6]. 701 [702] There were both volunteers and conscripts; but in each house, one man had to stay at home. An amghar or the amghar was the elected warchief, and he established his contingent....He did not [621] [623] abandon his house or agricultural tasks or coerce anyone to fight[7], and the jma'th saw to an equitable distribution of men under arms at all times. Only shurfa, old men, boys and individuals with physical defects were exempt from harka service.

726 Attempts were made to respect geographical order, and each contingent was called upon to engage in combat only on its natural front. The order of battle was traditionally known, and was answerable to political necessity. Coexistence was easier for harka members on their natural fronts, of course, in their own land; resistance was more effective, displacements were more rapid and dispersion was less serious. Knowing the country perfectly, they could send groups to defend passes or watersheds or gorges in relays, each one two or three hours behind the last, so that later arrivals could increase the

726 strength of those who were first on the spot, and so that the points which were most threatened could be easily and quickly reinforced. [182] [701] The dissemination of contingents was imposed by geographical factors (i.e. by the extreme poverty of an area which is excessively compartmented and rought country), by political ones (i.e. lack of a single head at the top of the chain of command other than individuals of purely local prestige, and a recruitment system which set limits on the employment of large units) and even by technical ones (i.e. the European notion of reducing the defense of fixed points of strategic interest, as well as in finding them, is difficult for Rifians to assimilate, for they themselves merely wait in their hilltop houses, etc.)[8].

C) Rifian Alliances (fragmentary):

619 628 181 [602] The Rif was a mosaic of independent tribes, gnawed at by internal disputes in an inhospitable land. It was a powder-keg of individual personalities who placated misfortunes with more misfortunes, with misery, envy and egotism; each one of these men were followed by minuscule groups of kinsmen and partisans, with no tie greater to oppose an invader than their own ambition and convenience....

619 There was in the Rif, however, a certain internal equilibrium by which small tribes like the Targist, Thafarsith and Aith Wurishik[9] could persist, even though surrounded by powerful neighbors.

619 616 [648] Alliances seem the logical and necessary step to which the Rifians had recourse when threatened by superior powers, such as that of the Sultans. The main significance of alliances lies in defense against a common danger, as well as in its concomitant, mutual aid;

● 619 but in the Rif, alliances were limited to the practical idea of the
616 defense of the Rifians' own interests, for neither their religion nor
their political system nor any other abstract notion or value or
institution, great or small, was the cause. Islam, independence and
[181] security were the trinity to which the whole little Rifian world[10]
administered its sacrament as only spiritual appetite, desire for
coexistence in free and minuscule republican units[11], and security of
619 property and persons....The regular functioning of its structure, with
616 its trilateral organization of blood, family ties (marriage; *jajgu* or
182 branch; and *dharfiqth* or trunk[12]) and social units (*jma'th*, clan and
dhaqbitsh) and institutions (communal and religious services[13],
markets and *qanun*), could never have been justified alone, because the
Rifians needed to take refuge in a complementary system of alliances,
which they would do until another more powerful force from outside,
such as a relatively strong and centralized Makhzin, succeeded in
reducing such a function to smoldering embers.

Rifian alliances were thus the refuge of individuals or groups
when the norms of coexistence were broken or when the danger of
individual or group preponderance surged up within a social unit, threatening
616 its equilibrium. The alliance which originated in the rivalries
619 between kin groups rose up to clan and even tribal levels, and in some
[614] instances it could even spread beyond tribal borders to extend itself
616 over the whole area. In this way the two great enemy groups of Sanhaja
619 and Ghumara came into being; and although they are to a large extent
648 confused recollections in the minds of old men[14], the latter also
173 bring to life, through their descriptions, the voracious conflagrations

616 into which a minute initial event (i.e. the cause of the war) had
619 developed, while the echo of gunshots and the splendors of vengeance
648 lit up the Rifian mountain landscape....The Rifian alliance is estab-
173 lished as a precaution taken by a weak man faced by the dangers of
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619 disequilibrium within the social group of which he is a member, and
182 it comes into play when the norms of coexistence are broken....When
one studies life in the dispersed hamlets of the Rif, one sees at once
how personal ambition and rival interests could, in the last analysis,
break up their inhabitants and realign them into two or three rival
bands[15] of more or less equal strength. When there are three such
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619 bands[16], one of them acts as a buffer or cushion between the other
two in order to maintain equilibrium and to prepare for the worst
through alliance with neighboring villages or groups. This also
happens with clans, and even with tribes.

[829] All of native science in the difficult art of government resides in a perfect knowledge and evaluation of these bands and of the rivalries which separate them in their own rich personal experience.... A great many tribal wars may be explained through the preference of one band, in a system of equilibrium of forces and balance of power, and through the logical reaction of the opposite band, which considered itself underestimated or slighted! The personalities and moving spirits in each band are also a factor to be considered[17].

616 Ordinarily the people in a village group themselves into two
621 opposed bands of equal strength. When there are three such bands or
[602] if equilibrium is for any reason upset, the foresight of the weak
obliged them to ally themselves with family groups in neighboring
villages, thus giving rise to the linkages[18] discussed
earlier.

616 [182] Individual liffs bind together individuals or families, persons and possessions, and make for solidarity in the payment of fines, in both defense and attack[21].

2) General Liff:--I think the raison d'etre of the general liff to be purely defensive. These large-scale liffs are real military [619] alliances brought about in order to maintain territorial integrity, and it is they which have permitted the coexistence of minuscule tribes alongside of large and powerful ones. The situation in this respect is analogous to that of Switzerland in Europe; and among the most typical Switzerlands in the Rif are the Thafarsith and the Aith 'Ammarth[22].....In a general liff, it is not individual or kin group interests which are in opposition to each other and come into play, but rather the jurisdictional limits and the autonomy of the social groupings (i.e. clans) which integrate them. The general liff [613] obligates with the same end and binds together with the same strength the individuals belonging to rival dharfiqin. There is thus, I think, [171] a notable difference in the two classes of liffs, although the end result or defensive spirit is the same[23]; analogously, there are alliances between European nations which are destined to preserve their independence, as well as friendships of more of an individual or econ- [562] omic character between their members....The national liff, to call it thus, cannot be confused with the social forms which have already been considered above, for while the latter place mutual obligations upon and bind together individuals and lands, the general liff usually applies only to men and binds together only warriors[24].

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[621]
The jma'th, the clan and the tribe, in spite of swamping their territory with the blood of their brothers and fellow members, are invariably and unchangingly preserved, for the desire of expansion on the part of their neighbors was always held in check by a tremendous fear of the liff, whose mysterious strength was never known previously[25]....And here we have a strange game or interplay between these two types of liff, for while the individual type, with its sanguinary feuds with neighbors, tends toward the disintegration of the social units involved, the general type remains permanent and intact, tending to neutralize or localize the hatreds which the quarrels of the individual type can engender.[26]

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As today (1935) the central power (i.e. the Spanish Protectorate or Makhzin) is strong enough to put individual and group disputes up to arbitration, guaranteeing the enjoyment of his or their rights to each person or group involved, the general liffs are disappearing and the individual ones are weakening; but in my opinion, if any real commotion began, liff alliances would surge up anew, even though today they exist largely in the minds of old men.[27]

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Robert Montagne, in Les Berbères et le Makhzen (p. 216), says of all this:

> "When we study the existence of little elementary societies, we are struck both by the tyranny exercised by the group over the individual and by the impotence of the former to keep away from anarchy. The liffs materialize and project on ground level, we might say, the two opposite and complementary tendencies of Berber life: the spirit of association and the taste for discord."

My own feeling on the matter, however, is that the liff system is the complement of the other two types of unity, family and kin group

616 (social), for a man only goes to his liff when the other two types fail him. Thus we see individuals or groups, when they are helpless, calling for their liffs in defense of their rights or taking refuge with them when, conquered or routed, they abandon their own hearths.

61 621 Tribes and their clans, and jma'ths and their kin groups or dharfiqin are generally divided into two balanced, symmetrical and mutually hostile parties; and it is in such an equilibrium that we find the strength of each group, no matter how insignificant that group may appear, and the weakness of the whole tribe, which is only welded together if threatened from outside.

616 619 621 623 In essence, in the tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, the innumerable feuds between jma'ths are reduced to two parties, within each council, whose quarrel, perhaps rather than for hegemony, is a dispute of interests. But, in discussing parties, let us rid ourselves of the 642 795 notions which these have for Europeans, either in forms of government or in religion. In such simple questions, Republic[28] and Islam have been in agreement for a long time. The Rifian states were religious republics governed by laymen, we might say. Well and good: above and 616 beyond these quarrels and ferocious feuds, the Aith Waryaghar knew how to ally themselves, absolutely independently of these, to other groups, indicating that the motive forces which underlay each class of alliance were different[29]. 619 Thus we see, for example, how the five khmas (sing. khums) of the Aith Waryaghar were allied or opposed to each other, and how they constituted two mutually hostile bands; the Aith 'Adhiya, Aith 'Ari and Aith 'Abd Allah on one side, and the rest on the other[30]. In my opinion, these two bands represent the most obvious

619 brake or check upon the expanding hunger of neighbors as well as upon
the hegemony of some determined individual.

175 But with the threat of the Rogi, Bu Hmara[31], expressed in
619 the form of the mhalla or military expedition under the command of
Jilali Mul al-Wudhu[32] (Muludu), we see the Aith Waryaghar reacting
violently and uniting, for the first time in their history, as the
result of an agraw at Imzuren, nominating their war chief, mounting
guard on the line of resistance parallel to the Nkur River, from Imnudh
(in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) to the Mediterranean, and joyfully accepting
the hard task, magnificently performed, of smashing Bu Hmara's army
to bits and sending it back in headlong retreat to Qasba Silwan.

619 In the same way, we also see the khums of Aith 'Abd Allah,
616 in liff with the Ibuqquyen, joining the other khmas of Aith Waryaghar
175 to fight against that tribe, as auxiliaries in the punitive expedition
of Bushta al-Baghdadi[33]; and thus we see that tribal interests were
always superior to clan ones[34].

616 For this reason, the mechanism of the liff is simply con-
182 servative and not disintegrative, as might seem the case from other
[621] points of view. If in the jma'th it equalizes the forces which are
[619] feuding, it does the same in the tribe with the rival clans, and in
[614] the overall Rifian area with hostile tribes, everywhere balancing the
inferiority of weak groups with the strength of its own men. It may
be possible to explain in this fashion why in spite of the feverish,
ephemeral and unlucky vicissitudes of such minuscule states, they
never came to the point of disappearing altogether, while at the same
time and by the same token they never permitted the duration of empires

616 or similar agglomerates. This might also perhaps explain the persis-
182 tence in disorder up to exhaustion point, for thanks to an obscure
[628] family feud, a chain reaction would unleash violence throughout the
[578] whole region as fast as a burning cigarette can produce a forest
fire[35].

616 There is no doubt that through their origins the tribes can
619 be classified into two great groups, Sanhaja and Ghumara, which formed
101 the two great Rifian alliances of the same names, and between which
the Rifian tribes were distributed in an apparent equilibrium, as
follows[36]:

Ghumara: Ibuqquyen, Aith Yittuft, Aith 'Ammarth, Mtiwa dyal Bhar (Mtiwa of the Sea), Ghmara Proper (Bni Rzin, Bni Khalid, Bni Silman, Bni Zjil, Bni Buzra, Bni Mansur, Bni Grir, Bni Smih and Bni Ziyat), Bni S'aid (of the Jbala, not the Rifian tribe of Aith S'aid), Bni Zarwal, Bni Zarwal, Bni Winjil, Slas, Hiyaina, Branis, Igzinnayen[37], Marnisa, Mtiwa dyal Uta (Mtiwa of the Plain), Bni Mstara and Ghzawa.

Sanhaja: Bni Bu Frah, Bni Gmil, Mistasa[38], Aith Waryaghar, l-Khmas, Bni Waryagil[39], Jaya, Mzzyat, Rgiwa, Dsul, Rhuna, and Sanhaja Srir (Ktama, Aith Siddat, Aith Khannus, Taghzut, Aith Hmid, Aith Bshir, Aith Bu Nsar and Bni Bu Shibt).

616 However, it seems somewhat limited to attribute the basis of Rifian political preferences and the reason for alliances in the region to this dim and garbled tradition of the very distant past[40]. If, on the other hand, the form of government or religion were in dispute, it would be easier to explain its affinities to the European type[44]. A Furthermore, if we discard as vaguely traditional such causes of union

A, [This should read "41" not "44"--Analyst]

616 as were forgotten by the people, we have no others to explain the *liff* system save external autonomy and internal equilibrium. The *liff* is the opponent of group hegemony, as the latter is of the preponderance of one family, and it thus results as a protector of both. This was the cause of the ephemeral character of the empires founded upon such a powder-keg, a mosaic of minuscule autonomous republics, as of the transitory periods of tyranny which they would have undergone. If external danger brought about the sacred interclan unity, internal danger (rivalries and hegemony) separated them, seeing them forced to support themselves, now divided, in other neighboring tribes[42].

Whatever may have been the cause of these alliances, it is [614] certain that among the clans of a tribe there were two bands which put them into this framework and gave them this frame of reference....And if their ethnic origin permits us, in principle, to reestablish the division of the tribes which gave its name to the two great *liffs* (Sanhaja and Ghumara), it is in the *equilibrium* and *autonomy* (author's italics) thus established and in operation that we see the origin and persistence of the other two *liffs* commented upon, among the Aith Waryaghar[43].

616 Perhaps among the Aith Waryaghar, different aspects of this
619 interpretation may be corroborated. We see their *khmas* or "fifths" allying themselves one against the other to form two rival groups and thus equalizing their internal strength and avoiding attempts at [101] supremacy by individual clans. And we also see how the Aith 'Abd Allah and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash look for their internal security in the tribes which border them, the first uniting with the "Badisiya" tribes A of the A, [Apparently footnote "44" should appear here--Analyst]

616 619 101 Ibuqquyen, the Aith Yittuft and the Bni Bu Frah on the one hand, while the second unites with the Axt Tuzin and the Thimsaman on the other, thus giving rise to a curious small and narrow passage across the territory of the Sanhajan (sic) tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, through which the Ghumaran tribes can communicate[45]. This might be borne out through other possible passages of the same type which, if found, would widen our political conceptualizations of this problem and might explain the apparent anomaly of ethnographic islets[46]. But in this, before it can be attempted, there must be an agreement on the basic affinities of the tribes in each band, Sanhajan or Ghumaran, and even among the Zanatans[47].

616 The liffs also seem to show, and manifestly, the reason for this progressive increase observed in the concentration of groups struggling in order to obtain the successive enlistment of possible far-away liff adherents.....so that their support would be required or attracted by the idea of burning of houses, etc., and their sudden disappearance, as if the earth might have swallowed them up, on the retreat of such far-flung allies....and thus creating the vacuum which one might label post-ta'rqiba[48] (author's italics), in order to astonish superficial observers, and coming to doubt the veracity of confidences and trusts, as well as of the enemy whom they had in front of them, and of the sincerity of the peace testimony....And nevertheless, a sub- 616 728 mission must be accepted as effective for those who are about to make it, or for the next enemy group, seeing that it does not naturally endanger the lives of the warriors, who voluntarily defended the territorial integrity of their part of their liff. The ta'rqiba of this

000 FOOTNOTES:

(114) 1--This should no doubt read, "by *iziddjifen* or *imgharen*".

[682] 2--We have not heard of any instance in which a tribal fine is divided up in this manner. Normally, when a man is fined for murder, for instance, the fine is split up into as many equal parts as there are clans in the tribe, after which each clan distributes its share of the fine among its component subclans, and so on down the line.

3--For an excellent and virtually contemporary account of what could happen at an *agraw*, see Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 97, and Coon, *Flesh of the Wild Ox*, New York: Morrow, 1932, pp. 77-83. Coon's account is taken from the Igzinnayen, who pronounce the word *ayraw*.

[628] [114] 4--This is indeed an excellent example, but Blanco does not say why: because the other Rifian tribes through which Bushta al-Baghdadi's army passed did their own share of pillaging the Ibuqquyen as well--and this was particularly true of the lowlanders of the Aith Waryaghar.

5--The term *harka* did not exist in the Rif prior to 'Abd al-Krim, and under his aegis the notion it implied reached its fullest flowering, through military (i.e. "regular" Rifian Army, a total of some 2500 men under the command of 'Abd al-Krim's younger brother Si Mhammad n Si 'Abd l-Krim) and ordinary tribal levies sent out to fight, first, the Spaniards on two fronts (east and west) and then the French on one (south). These contingents, both regular and irregular, were organized into groups of twelve, twenty-five, fifty, one hundred and three hundred men (the last mentioned constituting a *tabur*), each one of which was under a *qa'id* designated by the number of men under his command--*qa'id at-tn'ash* (of 12), *qa'id l-khamsa w 'ashrin* (of 25), *qa'id l-khamsin* (of 50), *qa'id l-Miya* (of 100), and *qa'id attabur* (of a *tabur*, or 300).

[177] However, the *idea* of the *harka* had been there previously, even if the organizational refinements set up by 'Abd al-Krim, who modeled them on those of the Sultan's Army, were new.

6--In actual fact, those *imgharen* already holding office merely became war leaders as well.

[602] 7--This statement does not quite jibe with the notion of conscription, above; but the principle was exactly the same as that of a powerful chief who could count on armed support from numerous lineage-mates and/or fellow clansmen.

8--This comparison is couched by Blanco in the form of a recommendation for the use of native *harkas* in Spanish service.

[114] 9--This is certainly true of the Targist and the Thafarsith, but not of the Aith Wurishik, who are a fairly powerful tribe in their own right.

10--In the original, *todo el mundillo rifeño*, which is fully as descriptive, and a good deal less pompous, than "conceptual universe", for example.

616 619 642 114 11--Berber society always seems to be labeled "republican", "democratic", "anarchic", "oligarchic", etc. etc., and as I have remarked in several previous notes, Blanco is a prime offender in this regard. Even though

616 619 642 114 the Rifians borrowed a European word, republik, to describe the political organization of their country before 'Abd al'Krim's time, and even though they say that they employed this word because there was no central government, no makhzin, only imgharen or councilmembers acting in a state of "organized acephaly", we must not assume, for instance, that republik to a Rifian means what republic means to an American or république to a Frenchman. Furthermore, though the American and French definitions of the term are no doubt closer to each other than either or both of them are to the Rifian, we cannot even assume that they are the same. And one of Blanco's most persistent defects in his analysis of social structure is a constant tendency to try to put square pegs into round holes.

616 619 182 601 829 [171] 12--Blanco's comparison of a jajgu to a branch of a tree (which, in fact, it actually means) and of dharfiqth to the trunk, e.g. a branch of a lineage with the lineage itself, is a comparison that Rifians themselves very frequently make. An anthropologist beginning work in the area, is always told by his informants, if he is perplexed by the intricacies of segmentary systems, to compare a tribe with a tree: trunk, major branches, minor branches growing out of these, still smaller branches, and, finally, leaves. The notion of "family trees" is just as firmly rooted in tribal Islam as in the Western World, perhaps more so.

000 13--What Blanco refers to in this very European expression is, among other things, attendance at the noon prayer on Fridays in the mosque.

[114] [171] 14--Where Montagne committed a grave error was in his assumption that Rifian alliances work exactly the same way as the checkerboard system which he found in the Western Atlas, and of which, oddly enough, the almost hypothetical Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs in Northern Morocco also seem to have been a good example. Blanco did not fall into quite the same error, but like Montagne, he takes the Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs at their face value, and accepts them entirely.

15--In the original, bando, which is not a bad description. The liffs of a given tribe are, in fact, hostile moieties, and regarding this conceptualization of them, and the notion of balance, equilibrium and oscillation between them, see Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 204-6, note 44.

[614] 16--The notion that there can be more than two liffs within a clan or within a tribe may not, in fact, be beyond the realm of possibility; but the point is academic, for the end result is, no matter how one arrives at it, always two liffs. For example, clans A and B are at war, while C, D and E remain neutral. C and D, however, are hostile to each other, so that if A should ask C's aid, D will automatically join B. After this, ideally, E will split in half, one half joining A's liff and the other, B's, in order to keep the balance and symmetry complete.

17--Almost always, in the shifting liffs within clans, each liff took the name of its most powerful man; and sometimes this happened on the tribal level as well, though it was less frequent.

616 621 602 114 18--The concept of linkage is basic to an understanding of the functioning of Rifian liffs, as Blanco indicates. He does not, however, go

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[621] sufficiently deeply into the problem to explain why this is so; although
[602] he does distinguish two kinds of *liffs*, he does not, in my estimation,
[114] make sufficiently clear why such a distinction exists. Let us look at
the matter in a slightly different way.

There are, indeed, two kinds of *liffs*, which Rifians themselves
[539] readily distinguish, and a Rifian proverb to this effect is as follows:
"Kahalli nimsingha jiranagh ghar barra untimsa'dhi" ("Even if we fight
among each other, we must be united against outsiders"). Thus, within
616 clans or subclans, there are "internal quarrels" (*aminghi n dhikhr*,
614 pl. *iminghan n dhikhr*), in which alliances often or sometimes even continuously shifted and changed over time; and within tribes, there were
● 619 "external quarrels" (*iminghan n barra*), involving one clan or subclan
against the next--and here alignments were almost invariably stable and predictable. Whenever the latter had to be activated, they were the same as they had been previously; and the feuding parties in an intraclan war patched up their differences in order to turn their attention to attacking another clan. For this reason, permanence and impermanence of *liffs* tends to depend upon what levels of segmentation are under consideration, the latter applying more to lower levels and the former more to higher ones.

616 Besides the question of duration, there is another mechanism at work in the structure of *liff* alliances, and this has been defined by E. Gellner as "transitiveness" (see Hart, op. cit., 1958, p. 204, note 44). What is meant here is that if A and B are in *liff*, and B and C are, then A and C are also. This is indeed true for the Rif, but within well-circumscribed limits (the neighboring clans of immediately neighboring tribes) to be discussed below--for transitiveness does *not* continue *ad infinitum*.

616 The crux of the matter, among Rifians, is neatly revealed in their terminology given above, in that "external" or "outside" or "big"
614 *liffs* operate on an intra-tribal level, while "internal" or "inside" or
619 "smaller" *liffs* work within clans or subclans. The hall-mark of the
Rifian *liff* system as that every single tribe in the area (and we know of no exceptions whatsoever) was permanently split down the middle, and its various clans and/or subclans, as a result, were aligned either in Faction A or Faction B; and thus the balance of power tended often but not always to be roughly symmetrical. Not only this, but it was generally expected that immediately bordering clans of neighboring tribes
[124] would help one faction and hinder the other. Two informants, from the
Igzinnayen, in fact, visualized the whole Rif, from their own tribe (in altitude, the highest in the Rifian-speaking universe) down to the Mediterranean, as a veritable network of such alliances! Small wonder, therefore, that Montagne, de la Chapelle, Justinard, Blanco and others who have published on the subject have found it so fascinating. Because of the internal split into two more or less equal parts in each individual tribe, and because of participation (if not in manpower, at least with money or rifles), of adjoining segments of neighboring tribes, the Rifian alliance system seems more complicated to me than the out-and-out chess- or checker-board-type *liffs* of the Western Atlas (if Montagne et al. are correct, as J. Berque, op. cit., 1955, pp. 424-39, has cast doubts on the Montagnian hypothesis); and we would liken it more to the links of a chain--as Blanco does, though perhaps he does so unwittingly through not having had all the facts at his disposal.

616 It must be remembered, however, that not every man in a tribe
619 participated in that tribe's wars (though the participants were always
remembered long after the non-participants were forgotten), and in
726 some cases--although they were few--whole clans even remained neutral,
[614] though hardly aloof. It is, we suspect, to situations like these that
Blanco refers when he states that it is possible to have more than two
[728] *liffs* in a given tribe, for the neutrals would generally be instrumental in arranging for a truce. In this sense, then, they could form,
in effect, a third *liff*--those who opted out of war in any case, and
who sometimes even buried the dead of the belligerents: the lineage of
Ihawtshen, of foreign ancestry (from the Axt Tuzin), living in the
clan territory of the Aith Turirth of Aith Waryaghar and greatly
scorned by them, is a classic example; and there are others, as well.
[563] Warfare was demanded of the majority, but a minority could find safety
through humility, as the few Jews living in the Rif were able and
000 expected to do.

[114] 19--Quite true in theory, but in practice he might seek safety in humility, and bury the dead of the combatants, as the Ihautshen did in Aith
[729] Turirth.

[114] 20--This at best is dubious, but at the time he wrote these words,
Blanco, like all his French counterparts, was entranced and virtually
blinded by the *liff* theories of Montagne, who thought that *liff* systems
were the be-all and end-all of Berber political sociology.

[682] 21--If a murderer, as was generally the case, was not able to pay the
full amount of the *rhaqq* levied upon him by the *imgharen*, his agnates
and, if necessary, his *liff*-mates were called in to help him out.

616 22--This is certainly true of the Thafarsith; and although the Aith
'Ammarth are a fair-sized tribe, 13246 strong (in 1960), it is bordered
619 in the east and southeast by the two giants of the Rif, the Aith Waryaghar, 75695 in 1960, and the Igzinnayen, 41653 in 1960. The Aith 'Am-
[162] marth feuded bitterly among themselves, also (so ferociously, it is
said, that each *liff* had its own market and its own *qa'id*); and the
principles outlined in note 18 apply here very neatly. One of their
[614] *liffs*, consisting of the clans of Aith 'Abbu and Ija'unen, was aided by
the neighboring Igzinnayen clan of Asht 'Asim, as well as by another
neighboring clan of another tribe, the Aith Hadhifa of the Aith Waryaghar; while the second moiety, consisting of the clans of the Aith S'aid
Ikhrif and Aith r-Hasayin, was abetted by another neighbor, the non-Rifian (in this case, "Jbalan") tribe of the Marnisa. Although even the
giants of the Aith Waryaghar and the Igzinnayen both respected the
fighting ability of the Aith 'Ammarth, the latter were and are too small
to try to get away with anything. These neighbors, therefore, they
left severely alone, although they regularly trounced their smaller
Sanhaja Srir neighbors of the Aith Bshir and Zarqat.

000 23--Blanco's two different classes of *liffs*, individual and general, are,
in effect, my impermanent, shifting and intra-clan type and my permanent,
intermittently reactivated and intra-tribal type, as described in note 18.

24--This is a well-taken point, if a somewhat obvious one. Women, in theory, do not fight, but in more than one instance they have been able to strike blows for the men of their *liff*. A woman's allegiance, in the

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last analysis, is with her husband, although the relationship between idhuran (sing. adhuggwar) or in-laws is always conceptualized in terms of mutual help, friendship and obligation, in short, of alliance.

25--What is presumably meant here is that one is never sure if one's allies of yesterday will be one's enemies of tomorrow.

26--Blanco recognizes the shifting character of liffs on lower levels of segmentation and the relative permanence of those on higher levels, and it is certainly true that in one sense the permanent liffs act as checks and balances on those of the lower levels. However, what Blanco
[114] does not say is that this cuts both ways; and in a critique of Montagne's ideas on the subject, Andre Adam (La Maison et le Village dans
[113] Quelques Tribus de l'Anti-Atlas, Collection Hespéris, XIII, Paris: Larose, 1951, p. 41) raises the question of whether liffs cause war or prevent it, saying in effect that if their function was to prevent it, they hardly succeeded!

27--This point, again, is well taken. Liffs, in theory, do not exist today, and even though the liff structure is largely erased from the minds of Rifians of the younger generation, it could probably be reactivated without difficulty if the need arose, although such reactivation would doubtless take different and more modern forms. Hatreds in
[152] the Rif today are latent; but every Rifian is perfectly aware who his
[628] friends and who his enemies are, both within his own tribe and outside it.

28--The European concept of "republic", rather than the Rifian Republik, probably is the context which Blanco intended in this case, even though the latter makes far better sense!

29--It is not so much a difference as a shift in emphasis, as the Rifian proverb quoted in note 18 makes so abundantly clear.

619 30--If this statement is at the same time supposed to give any idea of
616 the primary divisions or maximal segmentation of the Aith Waryghar into
114 five khmas, it is highly misleading. From certain of his previous assertions, it seems that Blanco does indeed recognize the difference between a segmentary system and a liff system, but he does not bother to make this difference explicit anywhere. In addition, he faithfully lists the member clans and subclans of Moiety A, but merely refers to Moiety B as "the rest". To clarify the matter further, it should be
619 said that the Aith Waryaghar are segmented into five "fifths", or khams
616 khmas (sing. dhakhammasth; the notion of "five fifths" in addition in-
614 dicates that a tribe is strong), as follows: I) Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari; II) Aith 'Abd Allah; III) Aith Hadhifa; IV) Aith Bu 'Ayyash, containing the subclans of Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper" (as it were) and Aith 'Adhiya (as we shall see Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper was in the numerically superior liff, as was Aith Yusif w 'Ari, while Aith 'Adhiya and Aith 'Ari were in the smaller liff--thus the first two clans or subclans might be considered onomastically "dominant" and the second two onomastically "recessive", to borrow a term from Mendelian genetics); and V) Imrabdhen. To set the record completely straight regarding references in previous notes, and to attempt to tie up loose ends, the mountain, or Jbil, (sub)clans of Aith Turirth, Timarzga and

616 Aith 'Arus, though spatially separated from them, are nonetheless
614 clan "brothers" of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Aith 'Ari and Aith Hadhifa
respectively; and each of the former groups gets its share of the
● [619] tribal rhaqq from each of the latter, though this, at the moment, is
beside the point. What is more important, however, is that each of the mountain clans is allied in liff to its "brethren" further down the slope.

In the Aith Waryaghar, the two liff heads depend largely on the clan to which one's informants belong. If they are from the Aith 'Adhiya, the liff heads are Aith 'Adhiya and Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper" (which segments, being both member subclans of a single clan, are more "brothers" to each other than they are to any of the other clans); if from the Aith 'Abd Allah, they are Aith 'Abd Allah and Aith Hadhifa; and if from Aith 'Ari, they are Aith 'Ari and Aith Yusif w 'Ari (who, again, as subclans of a single clan or clans combining to make up a single "fifth", are more "brothers" to each other than either or both of them are to any or all of the other clans; in this particular instance, in fact they are supposed to be descended from two actual brothers, 'Ari w 'Ari and Yusif w 'Ari). No matter; the structure of the liffs in Aith Waryaghar is as follows:
Faction A (within Aith Waryaghar): Aith 'Ari (with Timarzga), Aith 'Abd Allah, and Aith 'Adhiya (of Aith Bu 'Ayyash). Faction B (within Aith Waryaghar): Aith Yusif w 'Ari (with Aith Turirth), Aith Hadhifa (with Aith 'Arus), Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper" (of Aith Bu 'Ayyash), and Imrabdhen. Faction A (external to Aith Waryaghar): includes clans of Truguth, in the tribe of Thimsaman, and Axt 'Akki, in the tribe of the Axt Tuzin. Faction B (external to Aith Waryaghar): includes the clan of Ija'unen, in the tribe of the Aith 'Ammarth, affiliated through liff with Aith Hadhifa.

From the foregoing, four facts are readily apparent: 1) Faction B, internally, is, in both number of clans and total number of individuals involved, considerably stronger than Faction A is, internally. This
shows that 2) the liff alignment among the Aith Waryaghar, rather than
616 corresponding to the khums structure, tends to cut across it, for within
619 two of the khmas listed, subclans are pitted against each other in the
total tribal moiety system, even though the other three khmas remain intact. It also implies that 3), as discussed below, the liff system of the Aith Waryaghar is in fact far more a function of their territorial system than it is of their system of segmentation. Moreover, as we have noted in an earlier publication (Hart, op. cit., 1958, p. 204-6, note 44), 4) the exact form that each liff in a given tribe will take depends largely upon whether the number of top-level segments in that tribe is even or odd. As most Rifian tribes have an odd number of top segments (only Bni Bu Frah, Aith 'Ammarth and Thafarsith have even numbers--four, four and two, respectively), usually five and never more than five, (i.e. Aith Waryaghar, Igzinnayen, Thimsaman, Axt Tuzin, Aith S'aid, Aith Wurishik, etc.), a certain amount of improvisation and splitting within clans has to take place. (Among tribes containing an even number of segments, there is no need for this.)

It may well be asked, at this juncture, what the explanation is for the numerical superiority of Faction B. There is, we think, a very good one, but in order to show how it works, we must first consider yet

616 another (and/or alternative) division of the Aith Waryaghar into two
•619 top-level segments. This division is above and beyond that of the
khmas, and it was dictated to the writer by the late Qa'id Haddu n Muh
[124] Amzzyan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, a man whose knowledge of his own tribe was
considered by his fellows to be unrivalled. In this division, Top
Segment I is labeled *Aith Khattab*, and consists of Aith Yusif w 'Ari
(plus Aith 'Ari) and *Aith 'Abd Allah*, while Top Segment II consists of
Aith Bu 'Ayyash (with Aith 'Adhiya) and Aith Hadhifa. If the subsegments
of these top segments are aligned into their component *liffs*, as
above, the balance of power is completely even. The primary key to the
problem, therefore, is the *khums* of Imrabdhen, the presence of which,
616 in the Aith Waryaghar, tips the scale in favor of Faction B (above).
619 The Imrabdhen, as their name indicates, are the major intrusive element
614 in the tribe, a holy clan in a lay tribal unit, so to speak. Tradition
792 has it that the ancestor of a major Imrabdhen lineage branch, Sidi Mhand
u-Musa, married a daughter of one of the top *imgharen* of the Aith Yusif
[613] w 'Ari; and thus the alliance between them. It was highly beneficial
to both parties because the Imrabdhen received the protection of the
laymen of Faction B, so to speak, while the latter derived prestige
from having holy men in residence. In time, with the proliferation of
the Imrabdhen, the latter came to acquire the status of a *khums*, and
their subsegments spread out over much of the length and breadth of the
tribal territory, forming islets, as it were, in the land of the remaining
clans, so that today, although they are regarded as a single top
segment, their own subsegments are territorially discontinuous, just as
Aith Turirth, Timarzga and Aith 'Arus are in relation to their "brothers"
of Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Aith 'Ari and Aith Hadhifa, respectively.

In time, also, the majority of the Imrabdhen came to fight among
[613] themselves, and only a very few (such as the lineage of the Iziqqiwen
of Aith Hishim, the direct descendants of Sidi Mhand u Musa, himself in
turn a direct descendant of the clan's apical ancestor, Sidi Ibrahim
al-A'raj, and the lineage of the Dharwa n Sidi r-Hajj Mis'aud in Aith
Turirth) retained the traditional occupations and prerogatives of holy
men: the wearing of white robes, the adjudication of disputes, and the
dispensing of *baraka* (which, it might be added, could only be inherited
614 by one son of any given holy man at a time). In the overall, permanent
616 *liff* alignment within the Aith Waryaghar, however, they did not waver
182 in their allegiance to the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. We are thus faced with
the paradox that although functionally they helped, as holy men, to restore
792 or maintain equilibrium within the tribe, they created at the
same time a structural disequilibrium by virtue of being, literally,
"fifth wheels"--for such a relationship as exists between the segmentary
and *liff* systems of the Aith Waryaghar is tenuous and non-integrative,
as, in effect, it adds two and two together and makes five. (It is also
possible to draw a similar analogy, in terms of balance and imbalance,
between holy and adjudicating *imrabdhen*, the 10% minority, and lay and
warrior *imrabdhen*, the 90% majority, although this is essentially another
614 matter. So, in fact, is the problem of the "legitimacy" of the Imrabdhen
792 as a clan: whether they are *shurfa* or not--and here again, one
runs into ambiguities. They themselves say "yes", while others say
"no". In general, their genealogies seem to indicate that they are
genuine *shurfa*, although it is possible that these are, at least in
part, cleverly faked. Perhaps a test question here is whether or not
they have a right to share in the annual proceeds of the *sunduq* or box

614 of Mulay Idris in Fez; and over this, they hedge, saying that they do
792 have this right, but that they have never yet exercised it because
"Fez is so far away". This is, in effect, a tacit admission of proper
imrabdhen and non-shurfa status.)

In having postulated a state of equilibrium between the two
616 moieties of the Aith Waryaghar prior to the arrival of the Imrabdhen,
614 and in having postulated that the latter came in time to upset this
equilibrium in structural terms, we have up to now left Faction A in a kind of structural limbo. How, one may well ask, did this faction regain its balance? Through the principle of transitiveness within limits, as defined in note 18, by enlisting the aid of one neighboring clan from each of two tribes, Thimsaman and Axt Tuzin. After Faction A made this move, one may assume, Faction B did the same thing with a neighboring clan of Aith 'Ammarth. And here, we feel, is the secondary key to the problem, for, in effect, the inequality of liff alignments of a permanent type within the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar is cancelled out or, perhaps, rectified through the mechanism of transitiveness without; and balance is thus restored. And the interplay of the factors of permanence, transitiveness and the chain-link theory (by which, if Faction A gets the Thimsaman and Axt Tuzin, Faction B gets the Aith 'Ammarth) is evident throughout.

000 31-Bu Hmara, as his title r-Rogi indicates, was a false pretender to the Moroccan throne in the first decade of the 20th century. For full details, see Eduardo Maldonado, El Rogui, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, n.d. (ca. 1952).

32--Jilali Mul al-Wudhu was a negro general of Bu Hmaram and his top
[648] man in the Eastern Rif when he set up headquarters in the qasba or
fortress of Silwan in 1907, prior to trying to rally the Rifians to his cause. All of the tribes, in fact, did so rally, save Aith Waryaghar and Aith 'Ammarth, who thought it very "shameful" that a black "slave" ('abid) should invade their territory; and so, on September 7, 1908, on the banks of the Nkur River, near Imzuren, they cut him and his army to pieces, after which the other tribes turned against him one by one and ambushed his rearguard.

33--Busta al-Baghdad's expedition took place in 1898. It should also be noted that any previous liff arrangement which may have existed between Aith 'Abd Allah and Ibuqquyen was purely and strictly ad hoc.

34--True; but the normal situation was as described in note 25. Only outside invasion could and did ever weld a whole tribe together; and the Aith Waryaghar were united for the very first (recorded) time in their history when Bu Hmara came to the Rif.

35--See note 18. The fact that Rifian liffs were transitive, but only up to and including neighboring clans of the next tribe, tended normally to isolate feuds and to keep them in bounds, to some extent, at least.

616 36--We have commented on the almost mythical Ghumara-Sanhaja war above. A
The liff system at work in this particular case was at variance with
619 the traditional Rifian system, as described in note 18; although on the
648 other hand, if we can accept the myth (which is doubtful), it points

A,[See p.257, #14--Analyst]

616 to a far earlier incidence of tribal unity, and on a much wider scale,
than the events precipitated by Bu Hamara's invasion. Blanco's listing,
● 619 however, is incomplete, for this feud encompassed not only the Rif,
648 but all of Northern Morocco, centering, supposedly, on the Ghumara and
Sanhaja, each of which had allies both to the west (Jbala) and to the
[114] east (Rif). There are other listings available, the most complete of
which may be found in Montagne, op. cit., 1930, map facing p. 208. See
[113] also Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 17-8, and Jesus Ortoneda Jiménez,
Estudio de la Region del Rif, Ceuta, 1930, p. 37, as well as Vademecum
de Intervenciones Militares, Melilla 1928. None of these listings is
in complete agreement with any of the others.

000 37--According to Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 18, the Igzinnayen were not in the Ghumara liff, but in the Sanhajan one, and, according to his informants, the fact that the Aith Waryaghar and the Igzinnayen were both on that side brought the Sanhaja the ultimate victory.

38--Until 1906, Bni Gmil and Mistasa formed a single tribe. See Andrés Sánchez Pérez, Vademecum del Territorio del Rif, 1946, p. 81.

39--Bni Waryagil is a small tribe in the southern Jbala, and Rifian informants have all disclaimed any connection between it and the very much larger Aith Waryaghar of the Rif. Literate informants, moreover, point to the difference in orthography: the name of the Rifian tribe is written in Arabic with the letter ghain, while that of the Jbalan group is written with the gaf (kaf with three points above it).

40--It does indeed!

[114] 41--Why should it be necessary to "explain its affinities to the European type"? One feels that liffs, like any other institutions, can only be "explained" in their own terms!

[696] 42--What Blanco presumably refers to here, in an oblique manner, is, among other things, the fact that murderers must flee their own tribes.

[114] 43--It seems to us that Blanco is looking at this aspect of the problem upside down. If anything, an alliance and war of the Sanhaja-Ghumara type probably had its origins in the Rifian system discussed in note 18, rather than the other way around. It is, of course, also possible that problems and/or notions of this kind cut both ways.

44--This term refers to the western maritime tribes of the Rif, located around the early Islamic center of Badis.

616 45--There are three basic errors in this sentence. First, the Aith 'Abd
Allah had only an ad hoc liff arrangement with the Ibuqquyen; this was
619 directed against their own enemies within the Aith Waryaghar, namely,
114 the Aith Yusif w 'Ari and the Aith Hadhifa, the former of whom, in particular, the Ibuqquyen could never forgive for having accompanied Bushta al-Baghdadi's punitive expedition into their tribal territory. There was no question whatsoever of an alliance with either the Aith Yittuft or the Bni Bu Frah. The same applies to the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, who were also (but very tenuously) allied, through the transitive principle, to the Axt Tuzin clan of Axt Tsafth, because their "brothers" and enemies the Aith 'Adhiya were in liff (again through the transitive principle)

616 with the Axt 'Akki of the Axt Tuzin and with the Truguth of the
619 Thimsaman. Secondly, the Aith Waryaghar are not Sanhajan, and because
tradition may have associated them with the liff of the Sanhajans long
114 ago, this has nothing to do with their origins--which are Rifian.
Thirdly, and worst of all, Blanco writes unwarranted nonsense through
voicing the notion, entirely of his own making, of "communicating
Ghumaran or Sanhajan passageways", in a cross-tribal sense.

000 46--By "ethnographic islets", Blanco probably refers to tribes such as
Targist, Aith Mazduyi and Bni Gmil, which are neither properly Rifian
nor properly Sanhajan.

47--As today the validity of the whole Masmuda-Ghumara-Sanhaja-Zanaga-
[114] Zanata classification of Berbers, on a linguistic, racial and cul-
tural basis, has been thrown open to question and doubt, Blanco's
postulation, at best, seems very far-fetched. (The objectives of one
generation are notoften those of the next!)

616 48--Ta'rqiba: the sacrifice of an animal, after a war, by the side
which is willing to surrender first. In many parts of Morocco, it
728 involves cutting off the feet of the animal in question after slitting
184 its throat and before it dies; but in the Rif, this particular modality
is not practiced. There, any and all overtures to peace after a feud
782 or war are not designated as ta'rqiba, but as ssulh, while the term
referring to the act of sacrifice itself is dhaqqarsth.

000 49-- Blanco's so-called "post-ta'rqiba" vacuum seems to me in reality to
be the spatial norm in Rifian liff distribution; for prior to 'Abd
[175] al-Krim's time, and the creation, born of necessity, in 1921 of Eastern
and Western (Spanish), and later, in 1925, of Southern (French) fronts,
Rifian tribesmen always fought in their own home territory--with the
possible exception, in one instance, of the Aith 'Ammarth contingents
who helped the Aith Waryaghar against Bu Hmara's negro general on the
banks of the Nkur River in 1908.

195 181 628 "Now there is no law" was repeated in the humble dwellings perched upon the heights; and soon the Rifian mountains regained their harsh, untranquil and agitated life, the bloody phantasmagoria of vengeance spreading again over the slopes through the cries of victims and the echo of gunshots.

628 613 619 134 But the instinct of self-preservation again prevailed, first with pacts like the above, allying small lineages, and afterwards with pacts which, as will be shown later, forced whole tribes into more or less long pauses, during which they took a breathing spell in their rude and savage struggle for existence, which was complicated to an extraordinary degree by a poor and ungrateful soil.

443 182 The reader will appreciate the importance which the market has in Rifian society, for it is not just a simple place of weekly commerce.....

443 671 182 [648] The market in Rifian society is the preferential institution, the role of which, in my opinion, has today (1939) been partly absorbed by the Office of Native Affairs[14] and by the mahkamas or tribunals where the law can be laughed at much more easily than it can be in the market, under a carob tree in full view of all, the market to which the Rifians are so addicted and about which the qudat (pl. of qadi) are so refractory, the market which is today free of all control, including that of its constituents, the most efficacious control of all.[15]

443 671 That the market, among Rifians, was the temple of law, of Parliament....is proven by the fact that in all markets laws were made through pacts, referenda and proclamations; and these unfortunately lack sanction through official publication. In it public affairs of general

This proves what has been said
554 regarding the treatment of social organization in connection with the
671 ascendency and distinctiveness of the clans, of the *suq*, a true parliament,
614 621 which is attended by the most outstanding men of the clan,
623 tacit or vocal delegates of the *jma'ths* who form an arictocracy known
619 as the *Aitharbi'in*, whose circumstantial attendance in some cases
646 forms the *agraw*, the directing assembly and organism of the tribe.

614 This also serves to confirm our opinion that in the Rifian
671 area it is not the tribe which legislates and executes, but the clan,
[619] through its leaders, who parley in the market. It is thus the clan
[554] and its representatives in which all powers are concentrated and only
in case of a decrease in strength do they pay heed to the rest. The
Rifian clan is thus a truly autonomous state. It makes the law and
[681] executes it. Look, for instance, at the division of the fine, how
not a single *céntimo* goes to the representatives of other clans, even
if they are of the same tribe.

681 Notes 11, 12 and 13, which deal with the division of the fine,
[628] prove many of these notions. The victim or his family does not benefit
from it, for from the beginning his business is individual; a member
of his family (i.e. one of his agnates) will already be designated to
671 avenge him. The law does not punish more than the violation of the
pact, indemnifying those who remain faithful to such violation and saw
628 to its fulfillment. For this reason the perpetrator and his family
[672] (agnates) are punished, while all those who intervene in the service
of justice benefit, for they or their representatives carry it out.
If they get no money, as such, for such services, nobody would be
interested, for in carrying them out, he would not be bothered to

671 It eschews pardon,
614 it demands proof and it shows the reality of the
621 social unit, the "fraction" (author's italics--the translator
619 would call it "clan", with translator's italics), the characteristic
631 and fundamental unit of Rifian social organization, in the same way that
the jma'th (author's italics) is the elementary unit, the tribe
(author's italics) the principal unit and the confederation (author's
italics) the superior unit.[49]

443 The life of all peoples demands some commercial interchange
and, by the same token, commercial relations as such; and the result
of this is that these relations must be regulated. This necessity
621 impels the jma'ths resident in a small area to satisfy it by estab-
623 lishing a common market in a fixed and determined place on a fixed and
443 determined day of the week, and guaranteeing access and permanence to 3
671 those who attend it by means of an agreement among its representatives,
whose written accord, respected across time, forms the law of the clan,
an example of which is the qanun commented upon here. A law which, in
[182] principle, has as its only objective the guarantee of commercial interchange, establishing a truce to its disastrous life, it becomes accustomed little by little to social coexistence, giving consistency to the immediately superior unit, the jma'th, the demarcation of which at the least corresponds topographically to an accident of the terrain (the side of a mountain, the course of a river, a meseta, etc.) abridging its pride and feeling of solidarity in seeing its market thus favored, converting it into an oasis of peace, a localistic tie which, overflowing the reduced limits of the jma'th, widens its notions of humanitarianism.

671 Look at how this admirable qanun shows in its first paragraph
443 the market as the temple where the agreement, the law of the people,
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law, a lay law ignorant of religion even though it speaks of the Sacred Book, the irregular application of which, in such a recent and turbulent period, leaps into view, proving that Rifian Islamization is superficial.[57]

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This pact combines all the pleasant conditions of the Rifian appetite. It is verified in the habitual place of reunion for transcendental acts, taking place under sacred protection, in addition to lubricating the agreement with the heathen rite of blood sacrifice, the Islamic promise of peace, and the feast day for the sober Rifian, an enforced vegetarian.[58]

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It brings together the mass of the Aith 'Adhiya, a subclan of the khums (Rifian thakhammasth) of Aith Bu 'Ayyash; and democratic practice advises this mass not to mention the name of any individual in writing, as this might presuppose questions of distinction and preference, swelling their heads.

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[511]
It establishes the ddiyith[59], fixing it at 2000 duros, the maximum sanction which it is worth pointing out and imprinting indelibly in the minds of those who attend. This is a fabulous amount of money for the economic means of the people to whom it relates; and it is accepted as much out of the respect which radiates from it as from being generally admitted in analogous pacts of which they have news in neighboring districts.

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It must be pointed out, in order to avoid the confusions which can arise from the different editorship of the qanuns, that the real ddiyith, or blood money (author's italics), does not, in reality, differ anywhere throughout the Rifian mountains, and must be valued at

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628 1000 duros[60]; for the double amount of 2000 duros which appears in
681 certain _qanuns_ refers only to a single case and to the place in which
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443 the crime is committed--the _suq_, or tribal market.

In this single case the 2000-duro fine is imposed, and the
681 reason is simple: the crime in these conditions and in this place
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443 reaches out to attack not only the prestige of the tribe but the
common interests of Rifian society, and endangers them gravely; for, naturally, when news of the crime is spread by the regular constituents of the market, this keeps away the merchants from other places who have received word. This, in turn, brings about a commercial _blockade_ (author's italics) of the tribe, which originates from insecurity of persons and property; for rare is the occasion that the tumult which murder and woundings bring about does not end up in pillage.

681 For this reason the Rifians saw themselves obliged to cut down
rigorously and to threaten with heavy sanctions any crimes of this
magnitude and kind, the gravest in the society. The _ddiyith_[61] is
681 therefore doubled in this case. We have here the reason, distinctly
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682 made, why, in my opinion 1000 duros must be established as the fine
614 for homicide (a sanction which the clans of the Aith 'Abdallah and the
619 Aith Bu 'Ayyash both establish and which we encounter in the _ribat_, or
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613 agreement, which allied such tribes as the Sanhajans of the Aith
Siddath to the Aith Khannus, and the Bni Gmil to the Bni Bu Frah), and a further 1000 duros for homicide committed in the market; for the damage and disturbance affect not only a single lineage, but are prejudicial and shameful to the whole tribe, which by virtue of the laws of reprisal and blood-vengeance must fatten on any man who forgot his duties or obligations to it.

671 surprised Raisuli so much later on[78] when he saw their warlike proclivities,
554 were employed in an executive capacity so far from their
693 real profession.

671 If we consider the time in which they were drawn up, quite
779 recently, this would show us these apparent confusions as a more
advanced state of Islamization.

671 Going further in the reading of the *qanun*, we notice a confused editorship or translation in the examples which it gives us. We do not know if we are commenting on a *qanun*, the Rifian penal code,
671 or a shooting match. Why is it that if a man wounds someone in attack,
683 he must pay a fine of 100 duros, and if he misses him, he must pay
double that amount? Because of his poor markmanship? But then instead of limiting aggressions, of tending to diminish damages and injuries to the individual and to society, were the Rifians thus impelled to aggravate them with this exhortation to perfect markmanship, a stimulus to murder? Undoubtedly there is much confusion here, and I myself am not certain how to explain it.

681 Common prestige and experience arm them and cause them all
443 to watch over and keep their guard against each other, stipulating the
severest punishment, above their own individual interests, for those
who attack in the market. They consider this a crime against the
● [619] tribe, the worst crime in Rifian society, which is paid with violent
[673] death, without admission of the compensation which another *qanun* of
the Aith Waryaghar[79] mentions, although this does not do so.

671 This *qanun* also shows us a very curious aspect of Berber society, in general and of Rifian society in particular, as we have commented above.

000 the proportion, in context, of the fines.

671 There are no offenses against the form of government, nor
687 against religion; more aptly put, there is no need to invent such
688 offenses, nor, by the same token, any punishment for them, because
184 all are agreed in such questions: republic and Islam.

184 This unanimity of opinion among the different groups of legis-
614 lators in the diverse clans of the tribe proves to us their (relative)
● 619 independence, and this is one of the ties which gives the tribe its
671 form.[81] It is clear that if individuals and families respond to a
602 private common law, the associations of these kin groups, the (uni-
linear) principles which link them together, and their common law
could not be very different, given their proximity (i.e. to each other).

671 These qanuns, which are the most outstanding signs of the
614 rudimentary (sic) common or public law of the Rifians, reveal to us
and define better than any other consideration (i.e. aspect of Rifian
life, or institution) the reality and importance of that social unit,
the clan, both a truly independent state and the ancient fatherland
(patria) of the Rifian; and the whole of this, the ensemble[82], explains
the Rifians' capacity for resistance in the struggle against any invader through the multiple compartmented monopolies (i.e. clans), each
of which was opposed to the other, at the same time as it showed impotence and weakness to the outside (world).

671 These lay and democratic laws, full of suggestions, show the
619 Rif to be a land of custom, forming, as Montagne shows so clearly for
181 other Berber groups[83], a mosaic of minute independent republics, in
opposition to the Moroccan Empire, with its rigid sharifian organization and administrative framework of qa'ids; for the qa'id is, as we

671 619 181 have just said, a personage who does not show up in any qanun as discharging his office or as even providing the most minimal and non-transcendent representation, for in the one qanun in which we finally discover him (the qanun commented upon here) we have already shown that he hides himself modestly and even effacingly behind the camouflage of 619 554 two other shiyukh. The result is that not even in the big list, in the listing of "the fat ones" (i.e. the enumeration of the clan brothers of each of the imagharen of importance), does this ambitious man gain first prize, the individual who seizes this being an opulent and lay tribesman whose preeminence clearly gives a clue to the psychology of the talib who drafted the qanun as well as to that of his constituents.

619 648 And, reflecting upon bases like these, it is well to ask what reasons or exigencies the first protectorate functionaries felt, discounting both imitative and ignorant ones in order to orient their policies toward big qa'ids who, even if their stature has been diminished, are no longer to be seen for sure anywhere.

To impose upon the tribes more or less significant personalities, representatives of concentrated power, when, subdivided ad infinitum, they unite in their opposition to all types of personal power, is always an ungrateful undertaking and one full of surprises, as practice has shown us....when power is imposed from above.[84]

642 In the Rif, where all are personalities, only a mass-oriented political system, and not one oriented toward individuals, can bear fruit.[85] The enforced utilization of one or even several dozen persons of some importance serves no purpose if this does not benefit the mass, taking up its aspirations and satisfying its needs, anxious for freedom

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671 toward women and the exhortation which they conducted at all times
562 with nobility and without wickedness.

685 On the other hand, we see that in contrast to their fellows
673 of Aith Waryaghar, they neither list in detail nor excoriate cases
of theft, a fact which might give rise to the notion that, among them,
such actions were no longer considered pernicious. This is not the
case at all. Poorer than the Aith Waryaghar, the Aith Siddat must
preserve their property with greater zeal, from whence the right of
legitimate defense against the aggressor who would try to seize something from them in a field or path, and the right to kill anyone who
should penetrate their houses, the only place where they guard their
S possessions.[93]

673 The picking of fruit or vegetables in a field or garden in
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271 order that a poor man might eat has never been considered an offense
by the Rifian, who puts waterjugs along the mountain paths for the
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443 thirsty traveler. In addition, the border market of the Aith Siddat
491 and the fact that their geographical location lacks commercial roads
671 are the reasons which, in our opinion, can explain the apparent oversight in listing actions which it is everywhere else desirable to curb.

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10. EXAMPLE OF A LIFF[94] BETWEEN TWO TRIBES (BNI BU FRAH AND BNI GMIL):[95]

A) Qanun:

Praise be to God. In the presence of the witness instrumental to the present act and on the day of the date (below) in Dar al-Zikhlif, there appeared for judgment in front of the above notary certain determined members of the Awlad Sa'id of Bani Bu Frah, of the Awlad Ghadura and Muhammad bin al-'Arbi and his allies on the side of their brothers, R S 671 619 687 648 the people of Bani Dar al-Zikhlif, the people of Agni, the people of the Awlad al-Hamdi ibn al-Qadi of Qubi'a, the people of Iharunen, the people of Igzinnayen[96] and the people of Bani Gmil, all agreeing among themselves, with respect to the defense of the border, (to impose) a fine of 2000 duros upon any of those mentioned who, in case of war in Dar al-Zikhlif, should flee through negligence (at a time when cooperation in border defense is needed) or should even proceed with cunning (in order not to fulfill the agreement), for which he shall pay the sum mentioned earlier in the present document.

R S 687 614 648 The allies of Muhammad bin al-'Arbi and the Awlad Ghadura who flee back to their homes in Dar al-Zikhlif shall pay the above amount to each one of the clans. A sum shall be levied from their hands by those indicated in the earlier part of the present document. Those of both clans mentioned who would appear for judgment in the act and combat against their own (people) remain exempt from payment[97], (the justification of) this procedure being that it is the only way to impose brotherhood and unity, and to cause extralimitation against them to cease.

000 He who attended the present agreement with both parties and heard from them what was agreed upon extended this to the requirement of those who solicited it.

At the end of the divine month of Rajab al-Fard of the year 1336 (May 9, 1918).

Servant of his God, (illegible).--(Signature).

R S 671 648 B) Commentary:

The above qanun, as a perusal of it indicates, represents an

616 613 While relationships with one's own and neighboring lineages, regulated by tradition, were maintained, the *liff* did not plead permanence as a hope of reward, but whenever injustice or violence, ripping up their pact or norms of coexistence, left an individual or his lineage-mates helpless, these latter attained in the *liff* a final support for their rights and in all cases a secure material refuge for their persons and possessions.

616 779 The *liff* must not be compared to *European political parties* (author's italics), for these are activated under a religious aegis or under a governmental form, both things being ones which did not enter into the preoccupations of the Rifians, for whom republics and Islam were points which did not admit controversy even in the slightest degree. Destined to a rude struggle for existence in a harsh and miserable environment, the speculations of the spirit had neither place nor occasion to make themselves felt in the fact of the other, primordial and undeferable.

616 182 To any presumed victims the *liff* was the best guarantee and forewarning, as through it individuals and social units were forced to bring about the *alliances* (author's italics) which they deemed necessary in order to oppose adverse forces; and thus they insured their own existence.

616 613 619 182 The mechanism of the *liff* worked the miracle, in the anarchical (*sic*) state of Rifian society, of permitting the coexistence of the family or kin group or social unit (i.e. the lineage, on whatever level), as small as it might be, among others more numerous in point of population with no diminution of its integrity; and this fact permitted the

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613 survival, up into our own time, of insignificant tribes, true Rifian
619 Switzerlands, authentic islets, like Thafarsith, which were sur-
182 rounded by powerful neighbors.

616 Thanks to such a mechanism, the individual within the family,
182 the family within the jma'th, the jma'th within the clan, the clan within the tribe, and the tribe within the area or region all attained an unstable equilibrium, but an equilibrium, nevertheless, from start to finish, the most curious facet of which was expressed in the linkage of clans and in the two great rival bands of the Ghmara and the Sinhaja.

616 I am unable to determine whether the liff was the cause or
121 the result of the fractionization which Rifian anarchy brought about, populating the mountains with a real mosaic of small autonomous states which were grouped into two rival bands and equilibrated thanks to the linkage of the liff system.[102] Many reasons could be given for one or the other theory.

616 It is certain that the liff, in the Rifian ethos, is a mysterious and powerful force, to which the tribesmen submitted body and soul, if one might say so without necessarily admitting a comparison of European methods of alliance.[103]

671 This qanun offers further proof in support of the fact that the
614 clan in the Rifian mountains was an autonomous state within the tribe.
619 Thus, as in this case, we see it brought together with the neighboring
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648 clans of another tribe (Bni Gmil), regarding the subject of war on the border, while its members either forget or eschew union with another clan of their own tribe (Swahil of Bni Bu Frah)[104]; according to European modes of thought, such an action would induce a lack of esteem

505 With respect to merchandise, if because of a storm they lose all or part of it, the rest, once on land, is sold and the proceeds divided into equal parts by all the owners whose merchandise made up the boat's cargo, although the sales may not be from it (this is a kind of insurance); on the other hand, objects lost by the traveler have no indemnity at all. This favored and gave security to the business.

Once at the point of destination, the crew is in charge of unloading and storage on the beach or in the port, as well as custody of the cargo for three days, after which they are not responsible for loss or damages, and at the end of which they collect the proceeds of the freight from the consignee.

226 F) The Profession of Fishing:

The masters are chosen from among men known by everybody for their maritime knowledge and practice, and these in turn choose their crews.

The profession of fishing in jurisdictional waters, i.e. those which bathe the coast of the tribe (of Aith Waryaghar), was free, without subjection to taxes or any other obstacle, having no limitations other than that of not entering at the same time any area where another individual has his net spread, and of not entering certain others, such as the Cala del Quemado and Cala de Bonita, which because of the difficulties of their depths, a boat must not enter until the one inside has left. If two boats are waiting, the one which has first arrived in

● [619] the area enters first. Also, it is ordinarily permissible to fish in front of the coast of another tribe, provided that relations with this

226 [619] tribe are cordial and that reciprocity be admitted; but this was not frequent.

The Aith Waryaghar considered as their fishing area the waters between the mouth of the Nkur River and the islets of the beach at Sfiha.

226 823 184 The Ibuqquyen used to mark with lime those points on the coast which by their topographical vagueness could not be distinguished from the sea, and set up good fishing sites which, once they were in them, permitted them excellent catches.

442 443 492 The fish are auctioned on the beach by loads which are afterwards taken to the market on muleback, and the proceeds are handed over daily to the administrator chosen, who periodically hands over his accounts every two or three months, usually at festival times or at the ends of seasons, a fact which thus gives rise to incidents through doubts about negotiation of payments.

226 If the fish are not sold owing to lack of buyers, they are divided up the same way in kind, and the owner is informed so that he can collect his share.

The substitutes for crew members, during justifiable absences, as mentioned above, did not enter into the proportional division of the profits, but they were given a prudential and arbitrary quantity of fish as compensation, reserving for the absent crew-member his own part as if he had been working.

226 685 Any vessel which through imprudence enters the net which another boat has laid down is responsible for the damage it causes, and any craft which in moving rams into another which has stopped is also responsible for the damage caused.

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571 calls out the order of the turns by picking at random each one of the straws from the place in which they were deposited.[121]

E) Use of Rivers

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675 River waters are submitted, in general, to the same considerations as mentioned above. Their free utilization by owners of riverain land has no stipulation other than that of respecting the preferential rights of upstream lands and of avoiding damage to irrigation work [181] which has already been done. The jursidiction of the riverain people does not extend to the middle of the river-bed, for, as the latter often channels out new and diverse courses due to the torrential regimen of these water-courses which undergo constant variation and subsequent modification of their banks, this would give rise to infinite incidents and frequent modifications of agreements; and all of this would be contrary to the Rifian character, essentially conservative and traditionalist.....There is also another important reason for [648] [619] understanding why this is so, this being that these long-distance water-courses cross the territories of different tribes, ones which are even independent among themselves (and certainly from each other!); and in the event that any agreements at all have been reached about water distribution, these would have been extremely difficult to fulfill and would no doubt have originated not a few fratricidal wars and augmented the already numerous points of friction.

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312 Any other form of action would have been incompatible with the essence of (the social behavior of) this society at the moment in which we are studying it, in which tribe, its clans and smaller segments all have such possessive notions of the property on their territories

312 571 lead the water to which he has a right in any of the main ditches into
613 these three smaller ones. The ditch of Tuth, when it has water, moves
[402] the mill of Dharwa nd-Hajj Mis'aud. The irrigators of the Tafadhna
ditch, whether the turn is interrupted or not, have the right to use
that of Shimurra, but giving first choice to those who use it regularly.

16. QANUN OF THE NKUR RIVER (AITH WARYAGHAR):

312 675 The Nkur River has an irrigation regimen which is less exact than that of the Ghis, and the written agreements on the distribution of its waters are few and recent. One of them refers to the division of waters between the Axt Tuzin and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, with the intervention of the Bureau of the Aith Waryaghar (in Ajdir).[146] In any case, the establishment of such agreements is based upon the same notions and the same norms as in those pertaining to the Ghis.[A]

312 In the Middle and Upper Nkur, there is more than enough water to
[621] irrigate the meanders which the river has created, through which it is
easy to affix by-laws to the 'azibs[147] of the neighboring jma'ths which
own land on its banks, given the small amount of land under irrigation.
[241] There is even freedom and waste, and it is not uncommon to see, during
harvest time, the formation of tiny threshing floors with capricious
irrigation-furrows of 300 and 500 meters in the middle of the river bed.

• [619] There are meanders like Dhaghzwith n Dasa (upstream, in the territory of Axt Tuzin, and near the bridge on the right bank) and Dhazurakhth (downstream, in the territory of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and also right beside the same bridge, but on the left bank), which are of relatively large dimension and which have already stabilized turns; but the real difficulties and concomitant near-perfect solutions are

[A] [See pp. 361-369--Analyst]

312 only found in the Lower Nkur, the principal water outlets of which,
[619] by acting as dividing lines between different tribes on both banks,[148]
are Aghbar u Yidir, on the right bank and upstream from the Thanda Hawa pond, and Azru n Srith ("Rock of the Bride"), north of the former.

The latter point is the most important, where the wide Plain of al-Husaima and the ditches which traverse it may truly be said to begin. In the accompanying diagram, all these points are indicated, as well as the principal ditches, the regimen of which we shall now indicate in outline, with the hope that these notes may someday serve as the basis of a more detailed study.

West Bank:

Dharga n Dahar: begins downstream and right beside the piste to the Thimsaman, bordering it and crossing the main Tetuan-Melilla road to
[402] end up in Imzuren. It moves three mills. It has two turns of twenty-
312 four hours each: one for the Qa'idate of Nkur (Aith Bu 'Ayyash) and
571 the other for that of l-Uta, the Plain. The latter, in turn, is divided into one-third for Imzuren and two-thirds for Aith Musa w 'Amar;[149] and this gives rise to the following cycle:[150]

1st Day: Aith Bu 'Ayyash
2nd Day: Aith Musa w 'Amar
3rd Day: Aith Bu 'Ayyash
4th Day: Aith Musa w 'Amar
5th Day: Aith Bu 'Ayyash
6th Day: Imzuren

312 Dharga Ughzar Amzzyan ("ditch of the small river"): In May 1938
[402] the flow of this ditch was 513 liters per second. It originates

312 **Dharga n Tmsaman**: This ditch in May 1938 had a flow of 256 liters per second. It is located on the same bank of the river, and down-
[402] stream from the Aghzar Amzzyan ditch. It moves two mills (one belonging to the Muhammad nd-Hajj Ussar, and the other to Muhammad n Tahir), and it has three turns, one for the tribe of the Thimsaman[156] and two for that of the Aith Waryaghar (lineage of Aith Musa w 'Amar, subclan of the Aith r-'Abbas, clan of the Aith 'Ari), as follows:[157]

1st Day: Ifthisen (Aith Musa w 'Amar)

2nd Day: Thimsaman

3rd Day: Ihankuren (Aith Musa w 'Amar)

The three other ditches on this bank, Sidd Jdid, Sidd 'Ain Harri and Sidd Swani, only have water in times of abundance:

Sidd Jdid: At the end of May 1938 this ditch had a flow of 40 liters per second. It originates one kilometer below Dharga n Tmsaman, in the crossroad from Bu Srama[158] and the (Spanish-built) airport to the Thimsaman.[159]

Sidd 'Ain Harri: Born near the road leading from the Granja of Imzuren to Truguth (Thimsaman).

Sidd Swani: The last ditch on the west bank of the Nkur, some two kilometers from the mouth of the river.

East Bank:

312 **Dharga n Tufdhisth** (???--"ditch of the hammer"??): At the point
619 called Aghbar u Yidir, in front of the *mkhazniya* post of Imnudh, up-
675 stream from the Thanda Hawa pond, a division of waters is originated
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[103] between the tribes of the Axt Tuzin and the Aith Waryaghar in equal parts, according to a document in the archives of the Bureau at Ajdir,[160] which pertains to the agreement to which both these tribes came.

21. THE QANUNS OF HUNTING (RAYAH):[179]

224 The data which follow have been gathered principally among hunters
619 from the tribes of the Ibuqquyen, Aith Hadhifa (Aith Waryaghar),
Zarqat, Targist, Aith 'Ammarth and Aith (or Bni) Mazduai; and they
can be considered as general hunting qanuns for the region.

A) Significance:

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182 Hunting in the Rif was neither a sport nor a profession in the
European manner. It was a physiological necessity, and it is still
134 considered so today. A poor soil, accidented and dry, rendered it
312 difficult for the tribesmen to utilize its scarce sources of water;
262 and the consumption of meat was limited, because of the scarcity of
animals (i.e. both domestic and wild) to Fridays, feast days, days
on which pacts were concluded, days of illness, etc., and to market
262 days. As the Rifian is by necessity a vegetarian[180], sacrifices of
782 animals acquire the status of a rite, and they form a fundamental
ceremony in the most transcendental and important acts of his life.
Peace and war, pacts, births and deaths, rogations, etc., have to be
224 sealed with meat for greater solemnity and efficacy. In hunting,
782 therefore, Rifian society finds a physiological compensation in no
182 way negligible to its sober life and ancestral appetite for meat,
the sacrifice in common and equitable distribution of which is subject
to strict rules[181], the object of the most rigorous tradition and
fiscalization in order not to squander the slender reserves, which are
000 appraised in a manner unsuspected by European minds. The European
visitor who is entertained in a Rifian household is not in a position
to appreciate sufficiently the hospitality which is offered to him,

000 and he acquires a false idea of the environment in which he finds himself.

B) Days and Sites:

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689 For this reason, all the tribes had fixed days for hunting during the week; it was obligatory for all able-bodied men, and those who eluded such an obligation were penalized.[182]

224 This obligation, like all those which this society imposed upon its members, was not capricious, but served a utilitarian end and responded to a basic need. When the number of the line of beaters was greater, so were the probabilities of yield in the hunt, insuring with good practical sense the flushing of a greater amount of game, the consumption of which was the hunt's object most of the time. In most cases, as today, the meat was to be eaten in common, and never sold; for the Rifian, outside of the times of prohibition, the hunt must be free of all bonds and impositions, for today (1939), it if were not for the understandable tolerance of the Spanish tribal administration, the law would become a privilege for the European hunter, reserving for him a distraction or gain at the cost of the need of the tribesmen.

[796] Even today, the Rifians still continue to hunt on fixed days, ordinarily on Saturdays, but never on Fridays (day of rest) nor on market days; even so hunting is not obligatory in most villages. In the clan of the Izimmuren, in the tribe of the Ibuqquyen, people hunt on Saturdays or Mondays; in the Aith 'Ammarth, on Wednesdays, Saturdays or Sundays; in the Aith Hadhifa clan (Aith Waryaghar), on Thursdays or Saturdays; etc.

000 44--Which is unwritten in any case.

45--The Aith 'Abdallah are at once a clan and a "fifth" of the Aith Waryaghar.

46--In Rifian, Dhara n Tihrariyin, "the spring of the pure women(?)". The Tuesday Market once located there has not been functioning since the establishment of the Spanish protectorate, or earlier. The people of Aith 'Abdallah at present share a market, held on Mondays, with those of Aith Hadhifa; this market is located on the border of the two clan territories.

[614] 47--Sidi 'Amran is buried in the jma'th of Aith S'aid, in the subclan territory of Aith 'Aru Musa, one of two subclans of Aith 'Abdallah (the other being Aith Tmajurth).

[114] 48--Presumably with eleven of his agnates as cojurors, for twelve must swear in cases of suspected homicide; but there is no mention of this in the text and Blanco, whose knowledge of collective oaths in the Rif was sketchy, does not comment upon it.

[114] 49--Blanco's notions of Rifian segmentary lineage organization are somewhat deficient; for although the notion of a confederation of tribes might once have existed in the Rif (vide the liffs of Ghumara and Sinhaja), but during the "Republik" as described both by Blanco and myself, it most emphatically did not exist, nor does it exist today.

50--"Autonomous" would perhaps be a better word in this connection, for any segmentary system presupposes an interdependence of its component segments, upward, downward and laterally; and within the framework of such a system, maintained as it is by the principles of balance, oscillation and opposition, there is always some (and often very considerable) latitude for a (virtually or largely) autonomous existence on the part of individual segments, irrespective of the segmental level under consideration.

[619] 51--Because the Aith Waryaghar, in point of population, are the biggest tribe by far in the entire Rif (with the Igzinnayen following, at some distance), its clans may be functionally equated, in certain respects but not in others, with whole tribes elsewhere.

671 52--The Aith 'Adhiya are one of two subclans of the clan of the Aith Bu
'Ayyash (the other being "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash), of the tribe of Aith
614 Waryaghar. We have referred to it as Bani'Adhiya rather than Aith
'Adhiya in the text itself, as this is how it appears in Arabic.
614 Although the Aith 'Adhiya are strictly speaking a subclan rather
than a clan proper, as the Aith 'Abdallah are (see Chap. VI), they are
162 nonetheless about the same size as the latter in point of population;
and the whole clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, with both subclans considered, is the biggest in the tribe, and by a rather wide margin
614 (population 22,000 in 1960). This fact helps explain two things:
616 1) why the Aith 'Adhiya and the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash are in opposite
liffs, and 2) why the qanun of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya deals
671 with almost exactly the same matters as that of the clan of the Aith
'Abdallah. Aith 'Adhiya and Aith Bu 'Ayyash form one "fifth".
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5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4
Aith Siddat

000 79--It seems that Blanco has mixed his references here. The qanun of the Aith 'Abdallah decrees the death penalty for murder in the market if the murderer be apprehended on the spot, and a fine of 2000 duros if he should escape; the qanun of the Aith 'Adhiya decrees a 2000-duro fine for murder in the market, with no mention of a death penalty; while the qanun of the Aith Khattab only decrees a 500-duro fine for market murder, as we have seen.

R [114] 80--It is very probable that women's markets are an old institution in the Rif, but an assumption of antiquity in terms of "thousands of years" seems rather extravagant!

81--This is an implicit acknowledgement of the role of balanced opposition in segmentary societies. See also Lewis, op. cit., 1961.

R [619] 82--Presumbly what is meant here is the ensemble of clans forming the tribe.

83--See R. Montagne, op. cit., 1930, passim.

84--It is not clear here whether Blanco refers to the domination of the imgharen of 'Abd al-Krim, or of the Spaniards.

85--This, in our opinion, is one of the most profound statements Blanco ever committed to print.

S 619 671 86--Blanco calls this tribe the Bni Siddat, but outside the qanun itself, we have given them the benefit of the doubt and have called them the Aith Siddat. They are entirely Berber-speaking (Sinhaja Srir dialect), and are one of eight tribes in the Sinhaja Srir confederacy, the others of which are Aith Khannus, Ktama, Aith Bu Nsar, Aith Hmid, Aith Bshir, Bni Bu Shibt and Taghzut.

S 671 619 614 114 87--This is a shrewd inference on Blanco's part. We do not know if such was the case, but suspect that it was, particularly in view of the centralization of the Sinhaja Srir under the politico-religious leadership of the Shurfa Ikhamlijhen in Targist and elsewhere.

88--As the qanuns on the jma'th level do.

000 89--Here again, Blanco mistakes the ddiyith for the rhaqq.

S 681 614 212 671 90--A written law in only the qanuns with which Blanco has presented us here. Qanun documents in the Rif and the North in general are extremely scarce (unlike the Sus); for usually, the substance of the Rifian qanuns is contained not in documents but in the heads of the oldest surviving men; when they die off, all this material will have been forgotten.

173 91--For ddiyith, read rhaqq, and the same for the rest of this qanun.

000 92--The reference here is primarily to Rifian labor migration in Algeria.

S 181 167 114 000 93--It is certainly true that the Aith Siddat are an infinitely smaller and vastly poorer tribe than the Aith Waryaghar; but it seems questionable to me to attempt to infer from the mere presence or absence of a given statement in a qanun that they are more zealous in guarding their property.

R [114] 94--As discussed in Der. Cons. Rif., at some length, liff means "alliance". Blanco, however, is guilty of a howling error here, for he transcribes it throughout the text as lift, which in Moroccan Arabic Arabic means "turnip"!

000 S [619] 95--The two tribes in question are Bni Bu Frah and Bni Gmil, the former a predominantly Rifian even though largely Arabic-speaking tribe, and the latter, also predominantly Arabic speaking, disclaimed by both the Rifians and the Sinhaja Srir.

R [613] 96--A lineage of the clan of Agni, of the Bni Bu Frah, this unit, as indicated by its name, came from the tribe of the Igzinnayen. It is the second of the two Rifian-speaking lineages of the Bni Bu Frah.

97--Two questions emerge here. First, the text refers to "both clans", when in actual fact Bni Bu Frah has four clans. This may, however, mean one of two things: a reference to Muhammad bin al-'Arbi, the Awlad Ghadura and their allies (Muhammad bin al-'Arbi and the Awlad Ghadura being considered as one clan and the allies as another), or it may in fact refer to the two liffs into which the tribe was split and thus embrace all four clans. The first, in context, seems more probable. This jibes with Blanco's statement, in the commentary (note 259), that the two clans in question are Agni and Ulad S'aid.

Secondly, we find, in the notion of payment for combatting their own people, a contradiction in terms. But this can probably be explained away by the fact that what this statement (which is highly unclear) probably refers to is that those who stay on the tribal border and combat any of their tribal brethren who try to evade the collective obligation by sneaking home are indeed exempt from payment of any fine, because their conduct has been exemplary.

R [613] [619] S [619] One further point: the fact that lineages from every clan of the Bni Bu Frah are mentioned in this border agreement suggests the total involvement of the tribe as well as, implicitly, that of all of the Bni Gmil; for in small tribes, such involvement is total, whereas in large ones, such as the Aith Waryaghar or the Igzinnayen, this may not be (and indeed often is not) the case.

R [613] [614] S [619] 98--Even so, lineages from the other two clans of the Bni Bu Frah, Swahil and Ibuyihyathen, also appear to have been involved (see text of qanun); and presumably all or most of the Bni Gmil was involved as well, though this is nowhere stated in the text.

99--The mobility of tribal borders to which Blanco alludes here was quite relative; and it was far less great than, for instance, that among desert Bedouins, or even transhumants.

100--The liff system is perhaps a center-piece in Rifian political organization; but it is not the only one. There are other institutions with almost equal claims to primacy, such as the plural oath.

101--The liff system did bind together different social units, but always, let it be remembered, those of the same order or level of segmentation--unless, for example, a shift in alliance occurred, in which case it was possible for a liff to move upward or downward (in a structural sense) in gaining or losing new adherents.

It will be noted that the bulk of Blanco's commentary on liffs here is substantially the same as his chapter on the same subject in Der. Cons. Rif.

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182--According to informants in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, this was not, and is not so. Hunting is neither obligatory, nor are there fixed days for it; people hunt entirely when they wish to do so, although nobody would think of doing so on Wednesday (market day) or Friday.

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[114]
[178]
We wonder, too, if the Rifian hunting qanuns are in fact as detailed and as complex as Blanco would have us believe. Hunting is certainly less common now than it was, for instance, during the "Ripublik", and possibly the general knowledge of many of the fine points which Blanco has recorded has died in the interim. It is also possible that these same fine points may be in fact an indication of the relative lack of game in the Rif; that because the human population is relatively high and the animal population relatively low, provision must be made to establish priority rights of particular individuals to game, under any circumstances. Hunting regulations, as Blanco describes them for the Rif, are far more elaborate than they appear to be in the Central Atlas, where game (and large game, such as Barbary sheep, panthers and boar) is plentiful and where hunting is generally done with a bu shfar, the flintlock gun. There, the general rule of thumb is that anyone who hears a shot fired comes running, as any person present at a kill has the right to share the meat with the hunter (i.e. if the animal in question is not Koranically tabooed). In the Rif, game is small (jackals and boar are the largest animals, and both are getting progressively rarer) and not overly numerous, and people are many; hence the elaboration of these hunting qanuns. (Boar are of course not eaten, given the Muslim taboo on pig.)

000 183--This word we have been unable to find in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, in which area hunters, collectively, are called ingmarn (sing. angmar), and where no one can really be termed a "hunt leader".

184--This term, as frequently shouted during a hunt as haw-haw-haw!, the hunting call proper, means "Here it is!" or "There it goes!" and is in fact the Rifian classificatory cousin to the English or Virginian fox-hunter's "Tally-Ho!"

[114] 185--Given mistakenly by Blanco as Aith 'Amar u Yahya.

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186--In several communities of the clan of the Aith Hadhifa there are lineages of the Upper Imrabdhen (Rashkra, Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar and Kammun), while one community (Dhamarkat) contains Lower Imrabdhen lineages.

However, the disposition of these two hunting bands does not appear to coincide with that of the two subclans of the Aith Hadhifa; for while in the first band, Ihadduthen, Mishkur and most of Bihban belong to the subclan of the Aith Bu Jdad (Aith Bujdat), Thizimmurin and Iharunen belong to that of the Iraqraqen; and while, in the second band, Aith 'Amar u S'aid and Bashkra both belong to Iraqraqen, the Imrabdhen are of course intrusive. It is, thus, far more likely and, indeed, a far more logical assumption, that the hunting-band organization described by Blanco follows territorial lines rather than purely segmentary ones; and proof of this can be ascertained from a glance at Blanco's tribal map of Aith Waryaghar in the appendix.^A

^A,[No appendix is given--Analyst]

175 648 651 The social facts are, however, somewhat clearer. The Berber tribes of the Central Rif were a part of the bled-as-siba, or that area in which the central Moroccan government (bled-al-makhzen) failed to exercise effective control. The boundary between the one and the other was determined by whether within the area in question the makhzen could or could not collect taxes. If a tribe had voluntarily or involuntarily submitted to the payment of tribute, there would be a royal intermediary, a qaid, to collect revenue. In the Rif such dominancy was not present until the Spanish, or in the case of the Igzinnayen, the French, were able to assert supremacy.

619 [648] A complimentary feature of the bled-as-siba, at least as it obtained in the Central Rif, was that not only were the tribes independent of the makhzen but within any particular tribe itself, the internal segments of which it consisted were independent in most instances from one another. There was no tradition of centralization in this region. Each tribe (taqbitch) was divided into segments of varying degrees of inclusiveness. The maximal 619 613 lineages or ar-rba agreed that they belonged to a common social group which was socially, geographically, and to some extent linguistically distinct from other taqbitch. This social entity was evoked more in terms of space than of time. If one lived within the spacial limits of the tribe one was a member of that group. However, rights and duties within the taqbitch were nebulous and a Riffian would only use his tribal identity to someone who was unacquainted with local political sub-divisions. As a

619 temporal entity the tribe was only rarely a corporate group as in
613 times of invasion. Even on these occasions tribal-wide support was difficult to solidify since each lineage spokesman had the option of joining in or staying out. In a land where personal and familial enmity was so intense, it was not uncommon for a tribal segment to remain neutral or migrate away, temporarily or permanently, to avoid making common cause with tribal affiliates who might murder them. There were even occasions in which tribal segments allied themselves with an enemy tribe.

619 The social division which had a more frequent jural function was the ar-rba, the group which Coon designates as a 'canton.' The term itself comes from the Arabic and Berber word for the number four. The epistemology of the term is obscure. Some tribes, such as the Igzinnayen and Beni Wariyaghar, contain four of these subdivisions. Others, such as Thimsaman, contain two, and some taqbitch, such as Ibuqquyen and Tafarsith, are not divided into ar-rba at all. In these tribes the term for taqbitch and for ar-rba are used to designate the same set of people. The ar-rba contained both related families and strangers who had purchased land within the territorial limits of the ar-rba. Spacial proximity rather than kinship seems to have been the organizing principle. In tribes covering vast amounts of territory the ar-rba was a territorial division to meet whatever jural responsibilities which occurred within its limits. The smaller the number of tribesmen and of spacial expanse, the less necessary it was to have these subdivisions. Within the ar-rba

Within the ar-rba

619 there was a council (jemaa) held irregularly to discuss and [628] settle judicial matters generally pertaining to the blood feud. [554] Only the more important families within the ar-rba had representation on the council.

613 The first social unit which is directly reflective of kin ties is the dharfiqth. Whereas tribal and ar-rba names refer to place names generally, the dharfiqth invariably carries the name of a real person, i.e. Aith 'Abdallah or Aith al-Qasim. The members of this group consider that they have a common agnate although they may not be able to demonstrate the genealogical linkage to this ancestor. The group theoretically includes all the sons of the founding ancestor and their offspring. Some dharfiquin seem to have increased in number and power while others grew smaller either through decimation in feuds or from splintering into rival dharfiquin. Solidarity seems to have rested mainly on sentiment, and in such an explosive atmosphere this is perhaps too fragile a mechanism for maintaining agnatic descent groups.

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The dharfiqth is made up of a varying number of iujgu which are localized patrilineal extended families which may be regarded as minimal lineages. Each ijujga consists of a man, his wife or wives, his married sons and their wives and children, along with his unmarried sons and daughters. When the referent of the ijujga dies, all his sons form separate and new iujgu. The composition of the ijujga is today an idealization since few

000 households contain the above list of relatives. Neolocality is

591 178 Neolocality is the preferred residence pattern today and matrilocality is permitted.

613 596 602 571 The rights and duties of these descent groups are rather more fluid than is generally reported for African societies. As I shall discuss in Chapter 5, the principle of patrimony does not rule out other types of kinship alignment nor are kin ties the only form of relationship. Each community is made up of both kinsmen and non-kin with relations based on economic association, friendship or communal obligations.

178 In the Rif today the jural authority of the upper levels of segmentation[1] has been superseded by bureaucratic organization. [613] [596] [602] However, in the lower rungs such as the dharfiqth and ijuiga traditional social obligations are still extant.

621 The final social unit in the Rif is the local community or dchar, a neighborhood association both both kinsmen and non-kin (called douar in other Berber areas). The size of such a community varies considerably. If we take the tribe of Ibuqquyen 621 619 162 we find that it is divided into three fractions. In a survey I took in 1966, the fraction of Tagidit had 14 dchars, the largest having a population of 707 persons living in 114 different homesteads, while the smallest consisted of 94 persons living in 47 households. In the fraction of Axgar, the largest was 607 people living in 107 homes and the smallest was 163 people in 34 homes. In Izmourin, the most populous of the three fractions, the largest dchar had 1,509 people living in 268 homes and the smallest had 228 living in 35 homes.

[1] [i.e., the ar-rba, or tribal levels--Analyst]

621 Each *dchar* has its own *jemas* to which all adult men are
623 theoretically eligible. Its political powers are rather negligible
at present and *jemas* meetings are held infrequently. The
jemas meets to make decisions on the allotment of the community
for the upkeep of the local mosque or to take up a local subscription
to buy an animal for ceremonial purposes or to voice
community feeling towards proposed projects of the provincial
621 government. Each *dchar* is administered by a *moqaddem* who is
622 appointed by the national government. While the appointment
657 is made by the government it is always of a local notable,
prominent and acceptable at the local level. The *moqaddem*
622 may and usually does have administrative responsibility over
631 more than one *dchar*. Taking again the Ibuqquyen as our example
619 we find that four *moqaddems* of the fraction of Izmourin are responsible
for 9 *dchars*, that the three of Axgar are in charge of
13 *dchars*, and the two of Tagidit for 14 *dchars*.

Although theoretically every adult male is supposed to
623 have a voice in the local council, in practice the younger men
[554] or the poor do not play a very active role and decisions are for
the most part guided by the local notables. In traditional days,
623 before pacification, these councils had a great deal of political
178 power and were active in adjudicating quarrels, property settlements,
and so on. Since these functions have now been assumed
[657] by officials of the Moroccan government, the council's power has
been considerably reduced although its decisions still carry a
moral authority of some substance.

582 Within any one *dharfiqth*
[613] there are both endogamous and exogamous marriage. The same holds
582 true for the fraction although endogamy at this structural level
619 is probably more pronounced. There is no prohibition against mar-
riage into other tribes and such marriage seems more a function
of proximity than any cultural rule. There is more tribal exog-
amy between Ait Kamara in the Beni Wariyaghar and Izmourin in
Ibuqquyen or Arba Turirt in Beni Wariyaghar and Igzinnayen than
for the respective tribes as a whole. Proximity tends to be less
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582 important among the notables who have a smaller pool of prospects
from which to draw.

582 The main structural consequence of the absence of pro-
602 scriptive rules is that there is no common genealogical unity
611 at any level of social organization beyond the extended family.
Since recruitment into the descent group does not follow any
single principle, there is a weakening of the patrilineal prin-
611 ciple. Although rights in property and children almost always
602 remain in the patrilineal line, the organization of the society
is not exclusively or even preponderantly based on this principle.
A man's matrilineal relatives (who may with cousin marriage also
be related through patrilineal lines), as well as non-related
friends, neighbors, and patrons, may receive equal or greater
emphasis. A further weakening of the patrilineal principle was

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582 of such marriages does not appear to be high. It might be more
114 correct to state that FaBrDa marriage is neither a preferred nor
a completely approved union. As one young man expressed to me
with disgust: "It's a custom of the Arabs. But it is wrong.
[829] It's like marrying your sister." The comment was made as we
prepared to attend exactly such a union.

585 On the day before the bride goes from her home to the home
of the groom's father, and after the procession collecting the
grama has occurred, celebrations are held in the homes of both
[574] the bride and the groom. Patri- and matrilineal kinsmen as well
as friends are invited to each house. If the marriage is between
related persons, the kinsmen go to the house of the person with
whom they have the closest connection either in terms of nearness
[582] of kinship, friendship, or both. Since marriage for the majority
of the fellah occur in a close community and often with relatives,
the parties are often held in adjoining houses or at least in
quite nearby places. In such cases the guests often move from
one party to another. The ceremony which takes place at the
bride's house is also financed by the groom's family, who send
over the necessary animals, bread, oil, and so forth. At the
bride's house her girlhood friends dance and sing in the patio
[302] for the entertainment of the ensemble. The bride's hands are
[431] painted with henna during a ceremony in which each of her girl
friends and older female relatives gives her a small gift (grama).

585 At the groom's house a similar ceremony takes place. If
533 the father is wealthy, or even if poor but with sufficient social
463 credit, he will hire professional musicians who play, sing and
[464] dance at the home of the groom on this night and the following
[465] one. These musicians, who receive $20 to $40 for the celebration,
also take up contributions from the assembled guests. There is
● [619] a tribal fraction in the Beni Tuzin who, for obscure reasons,
have taken up this occupation as their professional speciality.

631 more dramatic in the days of blood feuding when the same mechanism
692 was used to acquire allies. The interference of a locally prominent
556 man is generally efficacious since government representatives
554 attempt to minimize local hostility. An open confrontation
571 between a local lord and a state representative generally leads to the dismissal of the latter. In neither of the two locations where I spent extended periods of time did the caid stay in office while I was there. In one of the two fractions the caid changed three times. The balance of political power is weighted towards the locally prominent, for the lords of the old bled-as-siba represent the highest rung of the informal but powerful traditional structure of leadership while the caids and pashas represent the lowest level of the other form of government, the formal bureaucracy.

641 The national government is well aware of the actual dual
648 organization of political power in the country. While every
556 Moroccan may have equal status based on constitutional law, he
619 does not have equal status in terms of customary law. This social fact is exemplified by the ceremonies held in Rabat where dignitaries from all across Morocco are called upon to attend such celebrations as the King's birthday, Aid al-Kebir, or the promulgation of a new law. On such occasions, depending upon the size of the tribe or fractions, one, two, or three men who represent the traditional power structure are royally commanded to be in attendance. Such meetings are ritualized reenactments of the loyalty of the populace as expressed through its local leadership.

641 To partake in such leadership requires wealth since the trip
648 itself is expensive (the only form of public transportation
556 from the Rif to Rabat is by bus and these men eschew this in
619 favor of splitting the expense of a taxi ride of several hundred
[494] miles) and the per diem allowance is more a token than anything
realistic.

Some men have gracefully retired from positions of community
leadership because of expenses such as these. If over
a period of years one declines to go to such ceremonies because
of ill health or pressing familial affairs, the person is quietly
dropped from the list of the invited and another local man is
556 substituted. Expenses for maintaining such a social position
are not small in relationship to the amount of wealth available
even to the better-off Berber. On the other hand, wealth alone
does not qualify one for a position of political prominence and
social prestige. The importance of a man is based not on his
wealth per se but rather what sort of wealth it is and how he
came by it. Wealth divorced from such critical factors cannot
be translated by the Riffian into socially meaningful significance.
To operate within the context of profit is to operate
outside the complex of social responsibility and communal solidarity.
556 Thus while there are entrepreneurs in the Rif, they do
472 not have the social prestige that goes with traditional wealth
in land. This distinction could be illustrated by numerous
examples but the following cases were selected because they

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

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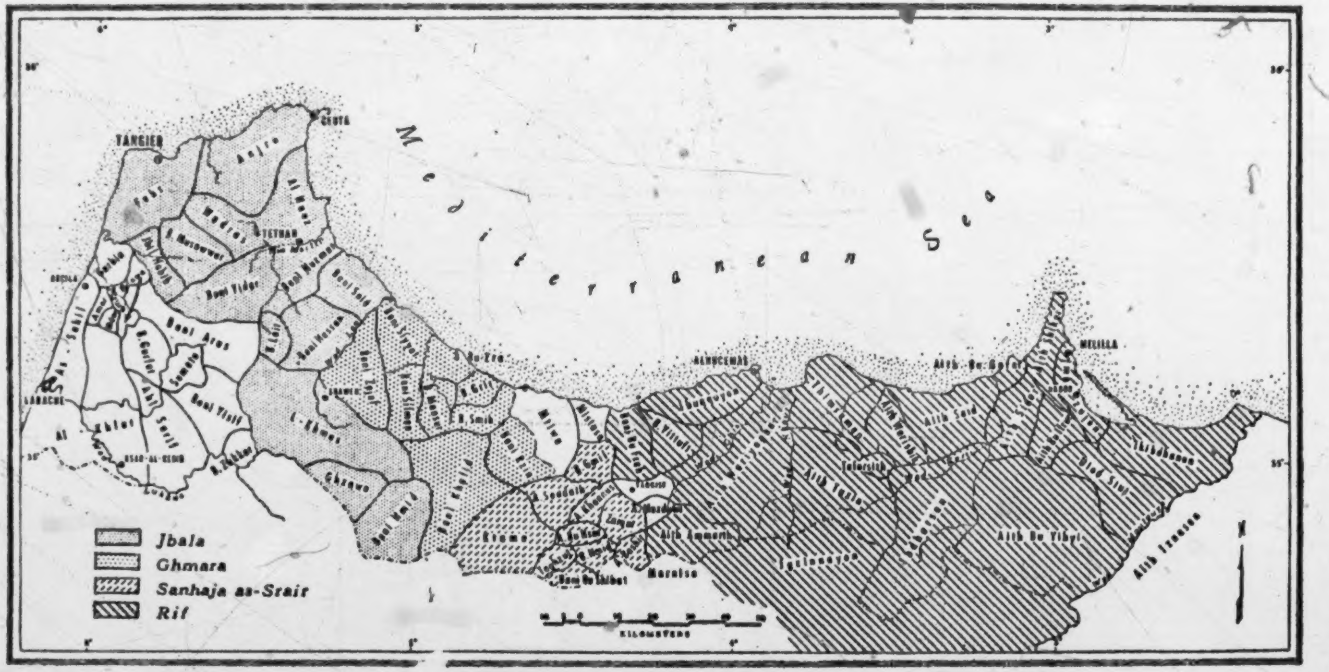
Mediterranean Sea
TANGIER
CEUTA
ALHUCEMAS
MELILLA
Anjra
Fahs
Wadras
Al Haus
Beni Ider
Beni Aros
Beni Said
Sumata
Ahl Serif
Ghzawa
Ktama
Targist
Aith Said
Aith Tuzin
Aith Ammart
Igzinnayen
Aith Bu Yihyi
Aith Iznasen
Jbala
Ghmara
Sanhaja as-Srair
Rif
KILOMETERS

Fig. 2. Northern Morocco: tribal divisions.

The northern zone includes an area of about 20,000 square kilometers, roughly R 131
one-tenth of Morocco. The maximum width of the zone, from the Strait of
Gibraltar to Wad Lukkus, is about 100 kilometers. The maximum length, from R
the Atlantic coast to Wad Moulouya, is about 340 kilometers. In 1950 the population 161
of the zone was estimated at one million, including 85,000 Europeans in 162
the Spanish protectorate, and another 150,000 Europeans in the cities of Tangier,
Ceuta, and Melilla.

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS

R
Tribesmen of northern Morocco recognize three main confederations: Rif, Ghmara, 631
and Sanhaja as-Srair (fig. 2). Most tribesmen recognize also a territory known as 829
Jbala, the Arabic word for "mountains" or, in this case, "hills." There is no
traditional name for the area west of a line drawn through Arcila and Ksar R
al-Kebir. In the Rif, tribesmen of the Atlantic coastal area are described as 101
Igharbiyen (westerners). The Spanish referred to this area, approximately the 631
basin of Wad Lukkus, as "Lucus." The easternmost sector of the protectorate,
roughly the basin of Wad Kert, was known as Quert. The Moroccan government
retained this division until August, 1958, when the northern zone was reorganized
into larger territories.[1] In the discussion to follow, reference is made to the traditional
divisions, not to territories established in recent decades. R

The confederacy of Ghmara consists of nine tribes: Bani Bu Zra, Bani Mansur, 631
Bani Khalid, Bani Silman, Bani Siyyat, Bani Zejal, Bani Rzin, Bani Grir, and 619
Bani Smih. It is proper to use the prefix *bani*, Arabic for "sons of," since only a few [197]
villages in Bani Bu Zra and Bani Mansur retain Berber speech. According to R 619
tradition, these tribes are descendants of the nine sons of an immigrant schoolmaster 173
named Aghmir.[2] Whether this explanation is historically accurate is unimportant.
The significant point is that the Ghmaran tribes have a sense of belonging
together through descent from a common, if perhaps hypothetical, ancestor.

The confederacy of Sanhaja as-Srair is formed of ten tribes: Ktama, Aith S
Seddath, Bani Gmil, Aith Khannus, Taghzut, Aith Bu Nsar, Bani Bu Shibat, 619
Bani Hmid, Aith Bashir, and Zarqat. Here it is proper to use *aith*, Berber for 631
"people of," since the tribes thus designated still speak Berber domestically. On [197]
the southern slope of the Rif Mountains, in what used to be French Morocco, are
two other Sanhajan confederations, Sanhaja Ghaddu and Sanhaja Musbah, but
these groups no longer speak Berber and have little contact with the Sanhajans
of the northern zone.

The limits of the Rif are more difficult to trace. Many Moroccans apply this R 101
term to the entire eastern half of the zone. Tribesmen living within the eastern 619
area are more restrictive. Bani Bu Frah and Bani Yittuft are usually regarded
as Rifian, although they have nearly lost Rifian speech. Mtiwa and Mistasa are
disclaimed by both Rifians and Ghmarans; they may be the descendants of immigrants
or exiles, for immigrant or exiled Rifians are found near Fez, at several R
locations in Jbala, and in the Oran department of Algeria. Targist presents a [197]
special problem: the cultural affiliation of this tribe has been obscured by the

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[1] For further details see *L'Afrique Française*, November–December, 1958; and W. H. Lewis, "Rural Administration in Morocco," *Middle East Jour.*, 14 (1960), 45–60.

[2] J. Caro Baroja, *Estudios Mogrebíes* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957), pp. 140–143.

R
101 presence of an influential family of ***shurfa***, alleged descendants of the Prophet,
619 who encouraged a shift from Berber to Arabic speech. Rifian is spoken in the
197 hamlet of the Aith Azza, but the weekly market of Targist has functioned tradition-
S [443] ally as a trading center for the Sanhajan tribes, especially Zarqat. The Aith
[197] Mazduwi also appear to be of mixed origin, for both the Sanhajan and Rifian
dialects are spoken by this tribe.

R Sanhajans and Ghmarans generally regard all tribes to the east of them as
S Rifian, but among the Aith Bu Yihyi and other tribes of the Kert and Moulouya
619 valleys this appellation is restricted to the tribes of the basin of Wad Nkour. It
101 is useful to think of a zone of transition between the "true Rif"—Aith Wari-
yaghar, Ibuqquyen, Aith Ammarth, Igzinnayen, Aith Tuzin, Thimsaman—and
the eastern frontier of the northern zone. The Ulad Stut are intrusive bedawin,
R like the Khlut of the Atlantic littoral. The remaining tribes may be described
as "eastern Rifians." Two minor confederations are recognized within this group.
[631] The first, "Iqar'ayen" in Rifian and "Gal'aya" in Arabic, includes five tribes:
Aith Bu Ifrur, Aith Sidar, Imazujen, Aith Bu Gafar, and Aith Shikar. The
second, called "Garet" or "Gart" in Arabic, is formed of Ibdharsen and Aith
R Bu Yihyi. The dialect of the Aith Iznasen is intelligible to most Rifians, but there
[197] seems to be general agreement that the Rif, even in a broad sense, does not extend
beyond Wad Moulouya.

LAND AND LIVELIHOOD

R In the total context of geography, northern Morocco should be described as an
133 isolated and generally inhospitable area. Moving from the Atlantic coast toward
the east, the traveler is confronted with an abrupt transition from alluvial plains
and terraces to a wild and chaotic zone of steep slopes and narrow ridges. The
eastern lowlands are more favorable from a physiographic point of view, but the
Rif chain creates a rain shadow, and the tribesmen of the eastern Rif, Garet, and
Gal'aya suffer from meager and erratic rainfall. Cut off to the south by the Rif
chain and to the north by inhospitable coasts, northern Morocco cannot com-
pare with Greece, Italy, southern France, or Andalusia as a breeding place for
advanced civilization. It is a rampart and a place of refuge.

R The tribesmen of northern Morocco share an agricultural heritage derived in
241 part from contacts with Phoenicians, Romans, Arabs, and Europeans. Farming
[197] methods are primitive, for the mountain tribes learned centuries ago how to grow
the maximum amount of food on tiny terraces, and the size of their fields and
the steepness of slopes discourage mechanization. Barley and wheat constitute
the most important crops. Wherever water is available for irrigation, the cereals,
which are dry-farmed, are supplemented by summer crops of maize, legumes, and
R vegetables. Horticulture provides precious additional food, and during the spring,
when cereal stocks are low, raisins, figs, and nuts are staples. In the semiarid low-
[243] lands east of the Rif chain, only cereal farming is possible, and famine may be
[731] experienced when rains are meager or arrive too late. The great seasonal mi-
[221] gration from this area toward the French farms of eastern Algeria resulted from
an imbalance between population and food supply.

R Variations in crop combinations and diet are partly conditioned by environ-
S mental factors, and hence will be considered in greater detail in chapter ii. A
241
182

611 Descent is patrilineal, and the number of pa-
ternal relatives a Moroccan can remember is always greater than the number on the mother's side.[6]

The important details of social stratification show little variation within the
565 northern zone. Real or alleged descendants of the Prophet constitute the highest
184 class. Among tribesmen, the most respected and important class is composed
of gentlemen farmers. At the bottom of the scale are blacksmiths, market weighers and criers, musicians and dancers, and tinkers or other itinerant artisans. The Jews, regardless of their profession, are lowest in the scale.

621 Besides these aspects of religion and social organization, there are many
184 features of settlement and livelihood that show little variation within the north-
ern zone. The basic unit of settlement is the hamlet or farmstead. Settlements
of more than a few hundred inhabitants are rare. For every farmer who grows
241 cash crops there are at least a hundred others who are concerned only with their
433 own or community needs. In all Morocco, subsistence farming and barter govern
[437] rural economy, and trading takes place at weekly markets held in the open air.

[443] One of the clearest expressions of cultural diversity is the division of north-
ern Morocco into zones of Arabic and Berber speech, a division which coincides with other cultural frontiers. Generally speaking, the eastern half of the area (Rif, Garet, Gal'aya) retains Berber speech, whereas the western half (Jbala, Ghmara) has been Arabized. The historical and cultural factors that have brought about this division will be considered in chapter iii.

175 A state, by minimum definition, is an extent of inhabited territory presided
over by a government capable of asserting its authority. During most of its his-
631 tory, Morocco was hardly a state in this sense of the word. One of the important
648 themes of Moroccan history is the division of the country into lands of govern-
ment (*bilad al-makhzen*) and lands of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*). The belligerence of the free tribes was based not only on their hatred of taxes[7] and authoritarian order but also on their inability to conceive of any social or political unit larger than the tribe or confederation of tribes. Most of the Rif was part of the land of dissidence.[8] Jbala and Ghmara formed an intermediate zone, neither submissive nor openly rebellious in the face of domination from without. The plains of Wad Lukkus and the Gharb were easier to subdue.

619 Dissidence was expressed in intertribal and intratribal conflict as well as in
opposition to the central government. In most of the Rif, and especially in Aith
628 Wariyaghar, quarrels over ownership of land, water rights, and personal affronts
[648] led to blood feuds of extraordinary savagery. Some feuds did not end until one
[571] of the participating families was exterminated. Feuding and the necessity for
[616] defense gave rise to a complex system of alliances based in part upon moieties.
[712] In the days before the Spanish occupation, each house in Aith Wariyaghar had

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[113] [6] In popular writings Berber society is sometimes described as being influenced by matriarchy. This assumption is based upon the fact that Berber women are much more active and unabashed than the Arabized women of the towns; it is based also upon the tradition that the Garmantians were led by a queen or prophetess. E.-F. Gautier, "The Monument of Tin Hanan in the Ahaggar," *Geog. Rev.*, 24 (1934), 439–443.

[113] [7] *Makhzen* comes from the verb *khazana*, "to lock up" or "to hoard." The word is synonymous with "government" and more especially with the treasury department. E. Michaux-Bellaire, "Makhzen," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913–1938).

[113] [8] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 380–381.

619
a tower used as a lookout and blockhouse.[9] Conflict was most serious in the Rif, 628
where it was necessary to establish a system of women's markets so that the mem- [712]
bers of feuding cantons or tribes could carry on a rudimentary trade. Another [443]
indication of the varying degrees of dissidence is the scale of fines imposed by 681
customary law. The fine imposed for murder by the Aith Wariyaghar was four 171
times as large as the fine for the same crime among the more pacific Sanhajan 671
tribes.[10] In the laws of the Aith Seddath there is no mention of house-burning, a [682]
frequent occurrence in the Rif.

In the days before the European occupation the division between government 642
and dissidence coincided with a division between authoritarian order and repre-
sentative councils. This division might be described also as a contrast between
Arab and Berber systems of government. The Berber system was based upon [623]
superimposed councils. The smallest was the council of a village or a number of [634]
scattered farmsteads. The second council, called the "council of the great," had [619]
jurisdiction over a canton. At least one and sometimes all members of the second
council participated in the deliberations of a tribal council. The system was demo-
cratic, with rotation of authority; thus no one could gain excessive power. The
Arab system was and is quite different, for authority rests with individuals,
from the *qaid* who rules the tribe to the *shaikh* or *muqaddam* who rules the vil-
lage or hamlet.

Of the many ceremonies that influence an individual's life, marriage is by far 585
the most important. Here again there are marked differences from one area to [184]
another. In the Rif the wedding celebration lasts seven days; on the first four
days, private feasts are held for the families involved; on the last three days,
guests are invited to the feasts. In Jbala, Ghmara, and most of Sanhaja as-Srair [184]
the wedding celebration lasts only three nights. Other differences appear in the [171]
entertainment offered to the guests and the complicated rules that govern the
behavior of the bride and groom.[11]

764
The other crises in the life of an individual—naming, the first haircut, and 184
circumcision—vary correspondingly, as do the procedures related to death and 191
burial. When a corpse is ready for burial in the Rif, it is carried on the door of [852]
the local mosque, and virtually the whole community turns out for the proces- [553]
sion and funeral. In the Arabized sector of northern Morocco the body is usually [304]
carried by paid pallbearers, and only the immediate family may attend the burial.
Among the Aith Bu Yihyi and Ulad Stut it is standard practice to carry the [492]
dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey or mule.[12]

415
The number of material traits that can be used as a basis for cultural dif- 189
ferentiation is almost unlimited. Containers of skin and iron in Garet contrast [191]
with pottery in the Rif, and wooden vessels in Sanhaja as-Srair. Even within the
Rif one may distinguish the handmade pottery in Igzinnayen, Aith Ammarth,

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[9] Most of the towers were removed in 1922 by order of Abd al-Krim. D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquíes, 2 (1954), 38.

[10] For further information on customary law in the Rif, see E. Blanco Izaga, *El Rif: la ley rifeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939), pp. 71–75.

[11] Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914).

[12] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 143–145.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 9]

631
634 assembly was an economic unit. In the Shluh area of southwestern Morocco most
343 of the independent communities have still or had formerly a collective storehouse,
171 or *agadir* (Berber *tighremt*), administered according to minutely established
rules.[19]

Under normal conditions the social hierarchy did not extend beyond the family
and the assembly. Larger groups assumed importance only in periods of crisis,
as when there was a revolt against the sultan or need of defense against an enemy.
619 The next order, which is still of minor importance, is the tribe, traditionally formed
[634] of the members of three to ten assemblies. The members of a tribe also claim descent
[614] from a common ancestor. The genealogical connotation is apparent in tribal names,
which are usually prefixed by *bani* or *aith*, Arabic and Berber, respectively, for
"sons of" and "people of." Each tribe has at least one weekly market and a sanctuary—the tomb of the patron of the tribe—which is the focus of an annual pilgrimage. But the manifestations of tribal unity were and are largely ceremonial, and
in the past tribal chiefs were elected only in time of war. Moreover, the tribal unit
619 was divided and weakened by an elaborate system of moieties (*leff*). All the com-
616 munities making up a tribe were thus paired, and every family or clan had the
right to call upon its *leff* brothers in an emergency. At various times in Moroccan
631 history, tribes have been grouped to form confederations, but large organizations
619 of this sort had neither a permanent chief nor an assembly. With the exception
of the Rifians, most Moroccans have lost interest in the confederations. "On the
whole," as Henri Terrasse remarks, "Morocco has been a conglomeration of little Berber republics keen to maintain their autonomy and, in case of need, to defend vigorously or reconquer in pitiless revolts their independence and their customs."[20]

177 Wherever Arabic has replaced Berber speech, there also Qur'anic law has replaced the old tribal order. In such areas one can no longer speak of "Berbers," but neither can one speak of "Arabs," in the sense of Arabians or Levantines. The cultural dichotomy now evident in northern Africa is the result of a long process of assimilation. The forces which have brought about Arabization are analogous to those which produced the Hispanization of Latin America. This analogy is reasonable, for the number of Arabians in the Atlas is probably no larger than the number of Spaniards in the Andes.

PUNIC AND ROMAN INFLUENCE

175 The historic period did not begin at the same time for the whole of Barbary. Along the coast it began with the arrival of the Phoenicians, late in the second or early in the first millennium B.C. It is probable that the Barbary coast was visited by Minoans and Egyptians also, but there is no evidence that they founded colonies. The regions occupied by the Phoenicians became part of the civilized Mediterranean world. Carthage, near the modern city of Tunis, was founded in 814 B.C. by settlers from Tyre. Utica, thirty kilometers to the northwest, and Gades (Cádiz) date from 1101 B.C. Other settlements, a day's voyage apart, were founded on the Algerian coast. On the Rifian coast it appears that colonies were

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[113] [19] For detailed accounts of the Moroccan granaries, see Dj. Jacques-Meunié, *Greniers-citadelles au Maroc* (Paris: Larose, 1951); and Robert Montagne, *Un Magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka* (Paris: Larose, 1930).

[20] Henri Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc* (Casablanca: Editions Atlantides, 1949), I, 33.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

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Jebala MX2
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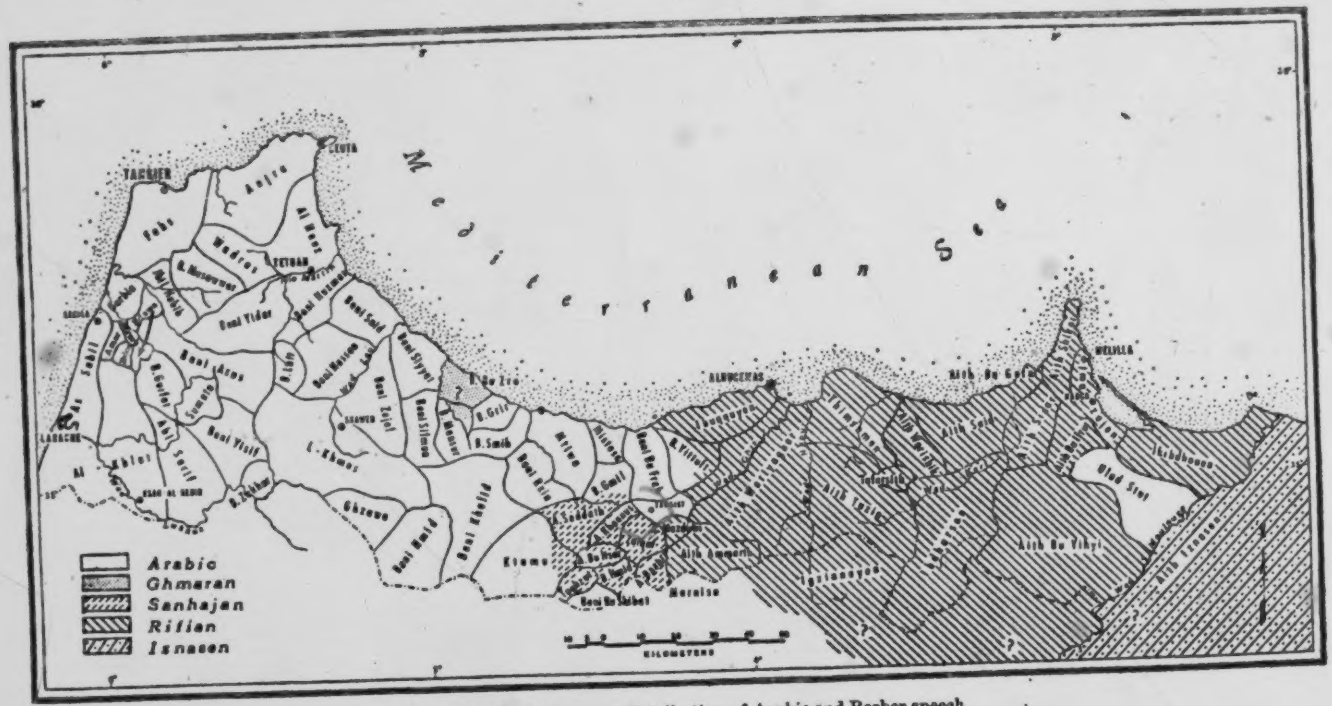
Mediterranean Sea
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B. Mesauwar
Beni Hozmar
Beni Yider
Beni Said
Beni Aros
Sahil
As
B. Gorfet
Sumata
Ahl Serif
Beni Yisif
B. Zekkar
Al
Khlot
KSAR AL KEBIR
Beni Hassan
Beni Zejel
Beni Siyyel
Beni Silmam
B. Bu Zra
B. Grir
B. Smih
B. Mansur
CHAUEN
L. Khmas
Ghzawa
Beni Hmid
Beni Khalid
Ktama
Mtiwa
Mistasa
Beni Rzin
B. Gmil
Beni Bu Frah
B. Yittuft
Beni Bu Shibet
Merniss
Thamsaman
Aith Waryaghar
Aith Said
Aith Tuzin
Aith Ammarth
Igzinnayen
Aith Bu Yihyi
Aith Bu Gafar
Ikebdanen
Ulad Stut
Aith Iznasen
Arabic
Ghmaran
Sanhajan
Rifian
Isnasen
KILOMETERS

Fig. 12. Northern Morocco: distribution of Arabic and Berber speech.

000
R is extended into an L- or U-shape, and similar units are added by the grandchildren
S (fig. 16). In Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair, growing families are often accommodated
342 by the addition of a second story, but this type of architecture is rare
341 in the deforested areas of Jbala and the Rif.
171

The necessary conditions of settlement are adequate amounts of land and a
R reliable source of water. Water is the more critical requirement. There must be
J S sufficient water for drinking, watering the animals, washing clothes, taking an
361 occasional bath, and, if possible, operating a grist mill. The runoff of the stream
[312] should be sufficient to irrigate a few precious plots of terraced land in which to grow vegetables and protein-rich legumes. In Jbala most hamlets appear on ridges overlooking the cultivated land. In Sanhaja as-Srair the preferred settlement sites are near the bottoms of valleys, close to perennial streams. Settlement forms a continuous line where terraces can be constructed along a large stream. The valley of Abd al-Ghaya in Ktama is a narrow ribbon of terraces and houses, stretching ten kilometers. In the valley of Taghzut the ribbon form of settlement is even more striking.[7] The concentration of settlement in deep valleys imposes severe barriers to communication. In Bani Hmid and Bani Bu Shibat, neighboring hamlets are often separated by ridges towering several hundred meters above the inhabited land. Similar problems are created by the deep ravines on the Ghmaran coast. To visit a friend or reach the nearest market, many tribesmen must spend hours on tortuous trails. In the steepest valleys, settlements are themselves terraced, like the cultivated land.

R In most of the Rif the terms "hamlet" and "village" are complete misnomers.
361 Reflecting the independent spirit of their owners, Rifian houses are separated
by at least a hundred meters; in Aith Wariyaghar the usual spacing is three hundred
meters,[8] and in former generations each house had a corner tower used
as a lookout and blockhouse. The houses that make up a lineage unit are usually
closer to one another than they are to those of any other unit, but a man must
S J walk a short distance to visit his brother. In Sanhaja as-Srair, however, he would
[361] have only a few steps to walk. In Jbala and Ghmara the houses of kinsmen often
R have common walls. In most of Morocco, and especially in the Rif, houses are
361 located in territory that indisputably belongs to one tribe or another. Border
423 zones are seldom used except as range land, and in former generations even this
619 use led to violent conflicts.
171

TYPES OF HOUSES

R In the whole of Morocco there are at least seven distinct types of houses. In the
342 Gharb and in most of the coastal zone between Rabat and Wad Lukkus, the common
171 house is a crude conical structure (*nouala*) of cane and thatch. On the southern slopes of the Atlas and in the oases of the pre-Saharan zone, houses are huge multistory structures (*qsar*) made of rammed mud blocks. On the northern slopes of the High Atlas, houses are built of stone, and resemble solid little blocks.

R
[113] [7] See the aerial photographs of Taghzut in Jules Blache, "Modes of Life in the Moroccan Countryside," *Geog. Rev.*, 11 (1921), 501.

R
[113] [8] A. Sánchez Pérez, "Datos historicos sobre ciudades rifeñas," in *Selecciones de conferencias y trabajos realizados durante el curso de interventores, 1951–52* (Tetuán: Imprenta Cremades, 1952), describes this distance as "el radio mínimo del espacio vital que un Rifeño de buena raza necesita para respirar a sus anchas."

Rif MX3

623 867 minor points of difference, the men let them arbitrate and set fines of a few eggs or loaves of bread, for their own consumption. Having thus learned the routine of sitting in judgment and also some of the oral qanūns, the boys are ready for the serious business ahead.

623 627 Once a week, when the nearest market meets, the older men of the neighboring villages, corresponding to the "brains" of the Kabyles, meet in a house just off the grounds, or in good weather, under a tree. Over glasses of tea they settle any disputes which may 628 come up in the market or which litigants may bring them. When 619 more serious matters arise, such as the trouble between the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin and the Beni Tadmut, the councilors of a single geographical unit, consisting of several clans, come together. They must be fed, and it is in the interest of the feuding parties to make a speedy settlement, with fines and blood money. Fines go to the councilors, who eat part and divide the rest. Blood money goes to the kin of the wounded or dead. If these councilors cannot settle the problem, the "fifth" is invoked—the whole series of little valleys and watershed cantons which forms the next largest political unit. Some tribes have only one "fifth," but Gzennaya and Beni Urriaghel each have five. If the "fifth" cannot settle the dispute, and the bloodshed spreads, then all the fifths join in. If the whole tribe is embroiled, the councilors of another tribe may invade and catch them unawares, to their great loss. The longer the fight remains unsettled the greater the number of participants, each new and larger body trying to capitalize on the confusion of the partisans.

It can be readily seen that few troubles reach intertribal proportions. This device of government in depth works. Feuding keeps the population down, and the fear of interference keeps the feud isolated and within bounds. Chronic troublemakers, and those who break the rules, must go. On the other hand when some outside force threatens more than a small portion of the Rif, the mechanism is at hand for all to unite, forcefully if ephemerally. The elders of one clan perform a compulsion of shame on another, thus forcing them into alliance, called *lif,* as elsewhere. As the danger grows, so 643 does the lif. In this manner 'Abd el-Krīm (who had been educated by 721 the Spaniards) set up a government of the whole Rif, which defeated Spain in two great battles in 1921 and 1924, and but for the use of aircraft and tanks by his enemy, might have held the French army indefinitely at bay. No sultan had ever been able to conquer this classic corner of the Land of Insolence, which is all the more remark-

/175 cont./

000 a canton of the east and a canton of the west. During the last century their struggle was carried on without respite, with the backing of the neighboring tribes. When ᶜAbd el Kerim, master of the Rif and of the Jbel, decided in 1925 to make Targist the redoubt of his defense, the memory of the internal divisions was still so alive that he had to name a "pasha" to the command of each of the hostile cantons.

631 634 619 XV. The khoms in the anarchic Rif. -- Perhaps, however, in this part of the Rif it is difficult to find out by means of what institution the canton preserves its personality and its own life; the underlying cause of this state of division of the country into small units of equal importance seems less apparent and more mysterious here than anywhere else. In fact, we no longer find councils of notables made up in so precise a way as in the western Jbel and the Moroccan South. In the high valleys that descend from the Tidighin, it is all the warriors under arms who come to be present at the deliberations of the village, of the "khoms," or of the tribe. The assembly then takes the name of "agrao" (1).

1. Berbère /Berber/ "agrao," plur. "igraoun," noun derived from the verb "grou," to meet (Biarnay, Étude sur les dialectes berbères du Rif /Study of the Berber Dialects of the Rif/, p. 70). The "agrao" corresponds to the "ajmoᶜa" of the Ida Ou Tanan, to the "jemaᶜa" of Kabylie /Kabylia/.

631 634 619 792 578 Discord and tumult would undoubtedly break out in it very quickly, if the marabouts of the family of the Khemalcha did not practice their arbitration between the hostile parties. Thanks to their pacifying role, these religious leaders colonized the whole country to their advantage and threw a sort of network of zaouïas over the mountains; they are, moreover, clever in the art of stirring up intrigues in order immediately to be able, thanks to their baraka, to stop the conflicts.

/175 cont./

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In the heart of the Rif, among the Beni Ouriaghel, the Beni Touzin, and part of the Boqqoya, the organization is still looser (2).

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[792]
2. The tribe of the Beni Ouriaghel, divided into five "khoms," presents a rather complicated social structure, which results both from the state of permanent war in which the families usually lived and the infertility of the soil, which disperses the inhabitants. Each "khoms" possesses a principal territory in the mountains and enclaves in the plain or inversely. Moreover, the marabouts form a supplementary "khoms" scattered throughout the country. /This footnote is continued on the next page in the original source./

[578]
In spite of this confusion and despite the habitual hostility of the family groups within the "khoms" and the "mouda^{c}," the boundaries of each fraction remain perfectly well known and it frequently happens that the internal quarrels subside in order to permit each khoms to enter into a struggle against a neighbor.

In all the Rif, only the Beni Ouriaghel have "khoms" whose territory is made up of separated parcels. Everywhere else, among the tribes of the Mtiwa, Beni Bou Frah, Beni Itteft, Boqqoya, Temsaman, the division into "khoms," very evident, cuts the country up into small units visibly equal in strength and area, whatever may be the geographic conditions of life.

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/176/ The marabouts become incapable of opposing the development of anarchy; armed themselves, divided among themselves, like the common people, by private wars, they no longer have the necessary authority to make peace prevail in the assemblies.

/176 cont./

631 634 619 The "igraoun" become for all the family groups the occasion to measure their strength, and it very often happens, when the tribe is left to itself, that all government disappears to make way for domination by the most bellicose.

Nevertheless, even in these unfavorable circumstances, the feeling of the unity of the territory exists, and, despite private wars, the assembly of the clans that forms the council of the "khoms" still keeps, by a prodigy of collective memory, the precise notion of the territorial limits. One sees it reappear intact when the common interests are threatened.

631 619 There exist in the north of Morocco, as in the south, above the tribes, larger groups that merit the name of confederations: they are, on the one hand, the Ghomara, made up of nine tribes, between the Ouringa, Chichaouen, and Tigissas, and, on the other hand, the Senhaja of Srair around the Tidighin, who bring together ten. Those are the remains -- the witnesses, one might say -- of two ethnic masses -- Ghomara and Senhaja -- whose struggles have filled almost all the history of the country. We shall soon see how in our time, when the war between the two races is subsiding, there is appearing among the tribes detached from one or the other of the two confederations the idea of league or of political party, which is being substituted for the old belief in a common origin. It is nontheless interesting to observe here that these two confederations, which have best preserved the historic tradition of the two great enemy races of the Senhaja and Ghomara, are only, however, almost inorganic masses of tribes, which have only fragile and poorly defined bonds between them (1).

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1. The Ghomara tribes are united above all by their historical traditions. They have, however, kept a meeting center, Aïn Hajer, and a hierarchical order (Beni Bouzra, Beni /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ Gmil, Beni Khaled, Beni Selman, Beni Ziyat, Beni Zedjel, Beni Rzin, Beni Grir, Mtiwa).

/176 cont./

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[171]

/Footnote 1 continued./ The tribes forming the confederation of the Senhaja of Srair have not, to our knowledge at least, any common institution. These two groups have partially submitted to the influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and sometimes received leaders who commanded nominally at least the totality of the tribes.

It seems that here again the confederations exist /177/ like empty cadres, in which the tribes and khoms live as they like and conclude alliances in complete independence, as if in the relative calm of our time, which succeeds the furious wars of the past, the weakest units were being constituted little by little and becoming conscious of their particular interests and their needs.

000 XVI. The Kabyle "taddert" and "ᶜarch." -- One of the most singular characteristics of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/ is the existence of a population whose density is often greater than that of the French territory. Most often one does not find little hamlets of 20 to 30 hearths as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the Masmouda, but rather large villages of 100 to 150 houses, which have maintained a surprising internal activity up to our day. Republican institutions are more developed there than in the South of Morocco, and the customary law has resisted, after 80 years of conquest, the political and economic transformation of the country (1).

1. Milliot, "Les nouveaux qanoun kabyles /The New Kabyle Qanoun [kanoun, see p. 492]/," Hespéris, 1926, 4th quarter.

In former times the villages were grouped, three or four in number, to form a tribe, "ᶜarch." The "ᶜarch" entered into an arrangement to constitute confederations to which the name of "qbila" was given.

/206 cont./

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/footnote 1 continued/ carried out on the ancient boundaries of the territory of the Ghomara and the Senhaja. The precise identification that he has made of a large number of points or of tribes mentioned by El Bekri /al-Bakri/ and Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ permits finding again the ancient boundaries of the territory of the Ghomara and measuring the importance of their enemies' progress in the course of the centuries. We have used his valuable information in the pages that follow and have given, according to his research, the outline of the ancient peopling of the Moroccan North in the map of the Senhaja and Ghomara tribes appended to this study.

In the region of the Habt, and in a more general way among all the tribes of the western Jbel, "Senhaja" and "Ghomara" are "ᶜalam," "flags," behind which are ranged the small independent political units of the Moroccan North in order to confront one another. As in the Anti-Atlas, entire tribes enter into each of the leagues; it is rare that two small states belonging to the same "ᶜalam" come to blows, whereas war is almost always breaking out between "Senhaja" and "Ghomara." As in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ also, neighbors side with their brothers, and the fight spreads over vast regions following a local conflict. The 616 leffs are very stable, as is proved by the existence of a curious • 619 classification attributed to a personage unknown elsewhere, 171 called "Bou Tyour," the "bird man." In the list of "Bou Tyour," each tribe is designated by an animal -- bird, mammal, or insect -- or even by an object, and some simple rules should permit one, it is said, to find the leff of origin by remembering the surname. Sometimes the names of animals whose consumption is licit are applied to the "Ghomara," while those that are forbidden by religious law are "Senhaja"; or else "everything that

/*206 cont.*/

616 can be eaten" would be "Ghomara," with the exception of fish
.619 (Jaïa) or crabs (Beni Ahmed), the "Ghomara" having been
171 "eaten," according to tradition, and conquered by the Senhaja foreigners, veiled with the litham /veil/ and coming from Lamtouna (2);

2. Lévi-Provençal, *loc. cit.*

yet again, the "Ghomara" would be /*207*/ designated by birds (1).

1. The Ghomara have for an emblem, in the list of Bou Tyour, a small bird that is called "aqouj." Perhaps it is possible to compare these bird surnames, of totemic appearance, with the ancient custom that the Ghomara would have had of picturing God in the aspects of a bird (From the qasida /kasida/ of Ibn ᶜArdoun). This information has been given to us by M. G.-S. Colin.

the "Senhaja" by other animals (2).

2. There is also the custom of designating tribes by the name of an animal or object in the South of Morocco, but these sobriquets have nothing to do with the classification of the leffs. We have thus turned up the following surnames in the central Anti-Atlas: Aït Tisgi : Id bi Igherdaïn (*the rats*); Aït Wagrou : Iougra (*the frogs*); Ida Ou Martiyn : Tikida (*the carob tree*); Ida Ou Finis : Id bou leqchour (*pomegranate rind*); Ida Ou Kensous : Id Bouilamen (*the sound* /Fr. *le son*, "the sound" or "the bran"/); Ind Ou Nadif : Id Warseba (*the bearers of bad luck*); Aït Tagmout : Id bou Maghous (*the bitterness*); Aït Ousa : Id

/207 cont./

616 619 171 /footnote 2 continued/ Biqousasen (the green figs); Aït Oughgoummi : Ibougha (the foxes); Aït Tikiwit : Anziden (the argan-tree rats); Aït Tiyout : Id bou Ifedam (the palm fiber); Irasen : Ifkharen (the potters); Aït Tmighat : Tighitten (the goats); Aït Mrait : Tatten (the ewes), etc. ... These appellations are most often considered insulting.

000 Among the Jbala /Jebala/ of the center, in the region of the Beni Zerwal and the Senhaja of Srair, the hostility between the two parties appears less passionate than among the tribes in the vicinity of the Ocean, and it is transformed into a mere antipathy preserved as a memory of the furious fights of the past (3).

3. Among the Jbala of the East, such as Branès, Tsoul, Meghrawa, Senhaja of Gheddo.

The two large leffs no longer play their role in the recent wars, and they have not been seen to oppose each other since the end of the last century. Still more to the East, between the Nkor and the Moulouya, the list of "Bou Tyour" is unknown; nevertheless the tribes still range themselves in one or the other of the two parties. The leffs are no more than a mere historical memory there.

616 648 174 In spite of the slight activity shown in our day by the leffs of the north of Morocco, it is nevertheless certain that the hostility of the Senhaja and the Ghomara in the past was very passionate. Beyond the historical evidence, we have proof of it in the fact that everyone still knows for a great distance the name of the tribes allied to his own. It is therefore much easier than in the Atlas of the Masmouda to reconstruct the general arrangement of the alliances, although each informant is scarcely acquainted with any territory except that of his own tribe.

/207 cont./

616 In putting these alliances back on the map, one perceives
immediately that the region in which the two leffs are still some-
648 times found fighting, among the western Jbala, also corresponds
to the one in which the alliances are formed of smaller units.
Two large opposed masses of Ghomara and Senhaja exist in the
center of the mountainous chain. They are, on the one hand,
[619] the Ghomara tribes properly speaking, to the southeast of
[131] Tétouan /208/ between the Lao wadi, the Ouringa wadi, the
crest of the chain of the Rif, and the Mediterranean; and, on the
other hand, the Senhaja of Srair, of Gheddo, and of Mosbah,
around the summit of the Tidighin and in the surroundings of the
Wergha. Farther away, toward the East, reappears the almost
regular alternation of tribes belonging to one or the other of the
two leffs, but it happens at the same time that these are larger
or more populous than in the western Jbel.

000 Finally, the tribes of the Gharb /Rharb/, of the Fès /Fez/ plain, and of the Taza corridor themselves enter by degrees, and as though by a desire for imitation, one might say, into the two great alliances of the North, without this adherence appearing to modify their historic role of tributaries that are turbulent and prompt to rebel against the Makhzen /makhzan/ of the towns of the North.

121 178 616 XIV. The formation of the leffs of the Ghomara and of the Senhaja. -- A comparison of the present state of the north of Morocco with the one that is described for us by El Bekri at the end of the eleventh century permits seeing the nature of the transformations that occurred in this region and understanding the conditions under which were formed the two great leffs whose balanced distribution we observe today.

619 131 Eight centuries ago the territory of the Ghomara stretched over a land much larger than the one that serves them as habitat today. To the West they reached as far as the river of Tétouan, and on all their western boundaries allied and friendly Masmoudian populations extended, forming a long band oriented from North to South, from the banks of the strait, passing by way of the Jbel

/208 cont./

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ᶜAlam, up to the Wergha. In particular they were the Koutama, Rehouna, Ghezawa, Beni Messara. Beyond, toward the West, in the Atlantic plain from Arzila to Anfa, the Beni Hassan, a Ghomarian population by origin, ensured, through the agency of the Berghwata, Doukkala, and Regraga, continuity of territory up to the Masmouda of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. The only [563] foreign element was a small group of Senhaja settled around Tanger /Tangier/, jutting out in a point toward Tétouan (1).

[127]

1. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, p. 134; El Bekri, de Slane trans., Algiers, 1913, pp. 207-210. Moreover, we have utilized the manuscript notes of M. G.-S. Colin, who identified on the spot a certain number of the points mentioned by El Bekri.

To the south of the western Rif, the Ghomara united with the Masmouda /map appears here/ /209/ stopped at the Wergha. The [616] [648] Beni Zerwal, given by Ibn Khaldoun sometimes in the one or the other of the two leffs, rather appear to have been Ghomara, judging by their constant fights against their neighbors, Beni Ouriaglel of the Senhaja leff, fights that were prolonged from the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ up to our day (1).

1. Léon l'Africain, Vol. II, p. 300.

000 The left bank of the Wergha was then, as at present, held by small Senhaja tribes who were doubtless the Almoravide "gich" /gish; see pp. 477 and 480/ charged with keeping in awe the mountain populations of the North.

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At the time, impossible to specify, when the Senhaja of Srair had not yet advanced toward the north in the direction of the sea, and when they doubtless formed a single bloc with the Senhaja of Mosbah and of Gheddo, the Mtiwa, another Ghomarian population that we now find broken up into three tribes, were to extend from the sea to the Wergha through the present-day

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 283]

2: Montagne--280 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh
Rif MX3

/Left side of map facing p. 208 in the original source/

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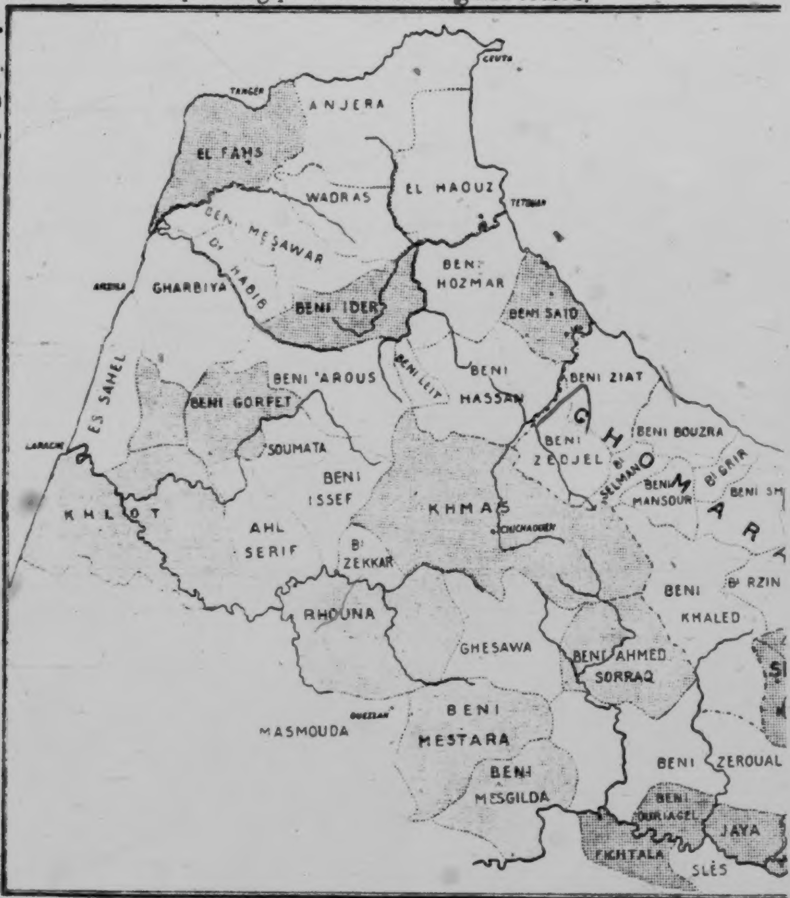
133
616
619

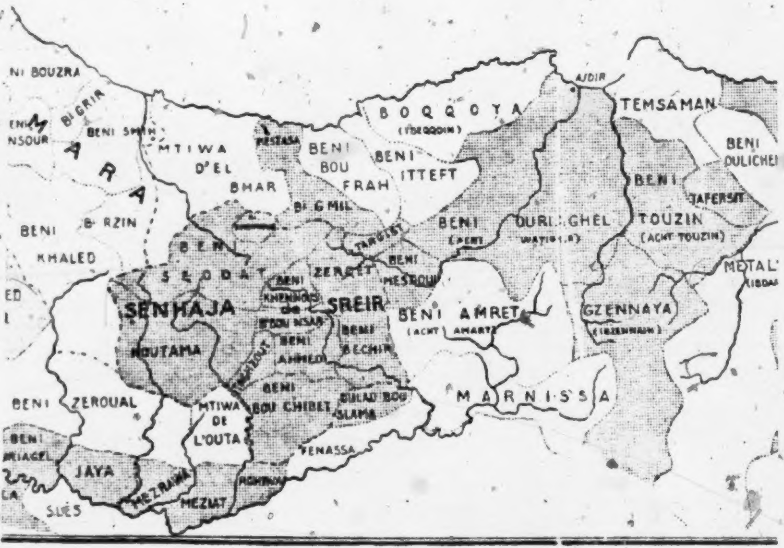

TANGER
ANJERA
CEUTA
EL FAHS
WADRAS
EL HAOUZ
TETOUAN
BENI MESAWAR
Bi HABIB
ARZILA
GHARBIYA
BENI IDER
BENI HOZMAR
BENI SAID
ES SAHEL
BENI 'AROUS
BENI GORFET
BENI LEIT
BENI HASSAN
BENI ZIAT
GHOMARA
BENI BOUZRA
BENI ZEDJEL
Bi SELMAN
BENI MANSOUR
Bi GRIR
LARACHE
SOUMATA
BENI ISSEF
KHMAS
CHICHAOUEN
KHLOT
AHL SERIF
Bi ZEKKAR
Bi RZIN
BENI KHALED
RHOUNA
GHESAWA
BENI AHMED
SORRAQ
OUEZZAN
MASMOUDA
BENI MESTARA
BENI MESGILDA
BENI ZEROUAL
BENI OURIAGEL
JAYA
FICHTALA
SLÈS

/Center part of map facing p. 208 in the original source/

102
131
133
616
619

The two Leffs of the North of Morocco in the 20th century
The territories of the Tribes of the Senhaja àlam are shaded; those of the Tribes of the Ghomara àlam are in white

Scale $\frac{1}{800{,}000}$


NI BOUZRA
BGRIR
BENI SMIH
NSOUR
M A R A
MTIWA D'EL BHAR
MESTASA
BENI BOU FRAH
BOQQOYA (IBEQQOIN)
BENI ITTEFT
AJDIR
TEMSAMAN
BENI OULICHEK
TAFERSIT
BENI TOUZIN (ACHT TOUZIN)
BENI KHALED
B RZIN
BENI GMIL
BENI SEDDAT
ZERKET
TARGUIST
BENI MESDOUI
BENI (ACHT ...)
OURIAGHEL (WATIN...)
METALSA (IBDAR...)
SENHAJA
KHENNOUS de
SREIR
BENI BECHIR
BENI AHMED
BENI AMRET (ACHT AMART)
GZENNAYA (IGZENNAIN)
KTAMA
BENI ZEROUAL
MTIWA DE L'OUTA
BENI BOU CHIBET
OULAD BOU SLAMA
MARNISSA
BENI MIAGEL
JAYA
MEZRAWA
MEZIAT
FENASSA
SLES

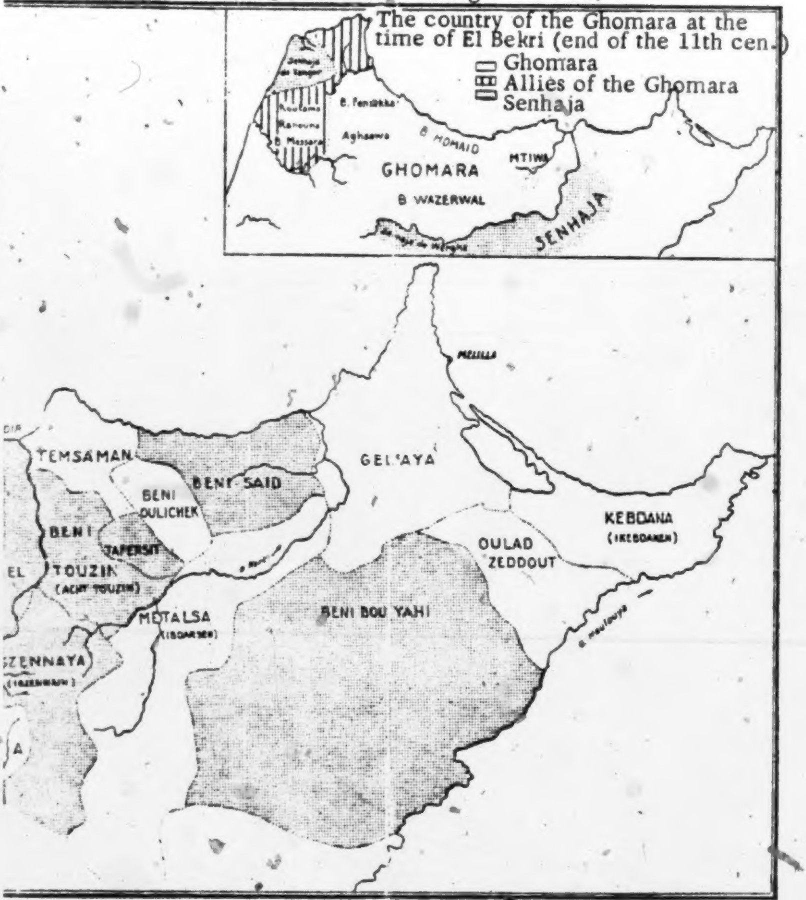
/"Sreir" is spelled "Srair" in the text./

2: Montagne--282 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh

Rif MX3

/Right side of map facing p. 208 in the original source/

102
131
133
616
619


The country of the Ghomara at the time of El Bekri (end of the 11th cen.)
Ghomara
Allies of the Ghomara
Senhaja
B. Fenzekka
Roufoma
Rahouna
B. Messara
Aghsawa
B. HOMAID
MTIWA
GHOMARA
B. WAZERWAL
SENHAJA
MELILLA
TEMSAMAN
BENI SAID
BENI OULICHEK
GEL'AYA
BENI
TAFERSIT
EL
TOUZIN
(ACHT TOUZIN)
METALSA
(ISOAR3EN)
BENI BOU YAHI
OULAD ZEDDOUT
KEBDANA
(IKEBDANEN)
ZENNAYA
(IGZENNAYEN)
A
B. Moulouya

/209 cont./

619 131 territory of the Koutama and of Taghzout. Badès, according to Idrisi, was the eastern limit of the bloc of the Ghomara; the present Spanish name of Peñon de Vélez de la Gomera would suffice to prove that it was their port.

To the East were still found, between Badès and Ghassasa, in the vicinity of the cape Tres Forcas, Senhajian and Ghomarian populations, which, in the first centuries of the Hejira, had constituted the kingdom of Nekor of the Banou Salih, before the destruction of the town of Nekor at the beginning of the eleventh century (2).

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, p. 139.

[648] Moreover it is not impossible that the internal wars that deeply disturbed the life of this small State were caused by the permanent hostility of the two races.

175 648 What were the historic causes of the attack led by the Senhaja against the country of the Ghomara? Already at the time of Idrisi in the twelfth century, the latter had suffered a serious check, since their territory had been reduced toward the South, to the advantage of the Senhaja, by a just punishment from God, "because of their numerous sins, the weakness of their Islam, their perseverance in practicing adultery with complete freedom," and all their other crimes (3).

[113] 3. El Idrisi, Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne /Description of Africa and Spain/, text p. 170.

It is the succession of defeats that they suffered that is alluded to, as we have seen, in the classification of "Bou Tyour," /210/ in which the Ghomara are represented by animals "capable of being eaten."

But it is not possible to explain solely by the advance of Senhaja elements, who doubtless came originally from the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/ for the acquisition of better lands,

/210 cont./

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the present equilibrium of the tribes of the two leffs in the western part of the Jbala. First of all, elements foreign to the two races took part for one or the other of the adversaries, according to historical circumstances. Already in the eleventh century the Koutama were counting themselves with the Masmouda of the Habt; Nefzawa elements, such as the Soumata and the Ghessassa, small tribes of the group of the Aureba, such as the Jaya, Mezziat, Reghiwa, the group of the Branès, later some Zénète invaders, such as the Metalsa, had to choose a side and join one or the other of the alliances. Other groups, in submitting to the conqueror of the moment, even abandoned their leff of origin; thus it is that at present the Rhouna pass themselves off as Senhaja, whereas they belong to the other race. Koutama fractions were absorbed into the Senhaja of Srair; they are now part of their confederation; by contrast, the Boqqoya, Senhaja in origin, according to Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/, count themselves today in the "ᶜalam" of the Ghomara. The Khlot, Arabs settled on the territory of the Beni Hassan, naturally attached themselves to the leff hostile to those whose place they were taking.

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[174]
It is easy, moreover, to imagine how, through the effect of internal divisions and local wars, the weakest groups were to detach themselves from the homogeneous mass of the tribes of their race and find themselves carried along little by little into new alliances more congenial to their inclinations or to their habitual interests. Still today, observes M. Michaux-Bellaire: "the small mountain tribes, incapable of defending themselves and preserving their independence, live under the protection and under the domination of a nearby large tribe to which they pay tribute ... [619] Two large tribes often dispute with arms the superiority over one of these little tribes and the little tribe at issue successively becomes Senhadjian or Ghomarian ..." (1).

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1. Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes de la région du Habt /Some Mountain Tribes of the Habt Region/," p. 6.

/210 cont./

619 648 Thus it is that there is substituted, little by little, for the idea of a struggle of races that of "ᶜalam," of political and military alliance. /211/ Examples of groups that have thus changed sides are given still in our day: the Mtiwa of the Rif, it is said at present, were formerly Senhaja, after having been Ghomara several centuries ago. They became Ghomara again; likewise, the Oulad Bou Slama, a small tribe formerly attached to the Senhaja of Srair, passed over to the Ghomari "ᶜalam"; by such changes of alliance, voluntary or forced, is thus doubtless explained the presence, in the center of the former country of the Ghomara, of groups of the Beni Ider, Beni Gorfet, Rehouna, of the Senhaji "ᶜalam."

619 616 648 Many points still remain obscure, it is true, in the distribution of the tribes of the Moroccan North between the two leffs. The presence of Senhaja groups around Tétouan, the existence of two groups of Beni Saïd from the same leff on the coast at the two extremities of the Rif, the descent of the Senhaja of Srair toward Yallich, which they regard as their port, or the possession of Nekor by the Beni Ouriaghel are facts that seem to us poorly explained. Nevertheless it suffices to examine the map of the two "ᶜalam" in our time and to compare it with the indications of the Arab historians and geographers on the origin and ancient position of the tribes in order to be convinced of one important fact: by the normal interaction of the life of the sedentary tribes, the opposition that takes the form of war between two races tends to disappear; it becomes that of two large political leffs that little by little become balanced, fraction their units, so that in the chain of the Rif peopled with Senhaja and Ghomara the struggle of the tribes comes to grow similar, thanks to the forgetting of origins, to that of the cantons of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the Masmouda (1).

1. Compare A. Bernard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, p. 105, on the large leffs, Beni Snassen and Angad.

/238 cont./

121 XI. The Riffian anarchy. -- We have spoken of the state of
631 political dissolution in which the tribes of the western Rif live,
in particular the ones whose territory borders the sea between the
Ouringa wadi and the Ighzer Moqorn, to the point that the tribal
fractions themselves appear to be no more than a dust of rival
and hostile families; thus one will not expect to find in the
mountains that border the Mediterranean an organization com-
parable to that of the South of Morocco. In this region, where
121 the houses are scattered, established on the summit of each hill,
361 and form as many separate little fortresses, the customary units,
621 such as the hamlet, the "mouda^c," even the khoms, have limits
632 difficult to discern. The "mouda^c" is still extant, thanks to the
[619] existence of a Friday mosque common to a large number of
households, and in trying to establish the list of the households
that co-operate in the maintenance of the taleb, one succeeds
in finding again in the general tangle of families this small ele-
mentary group that exists in the most anarchical regions. At
times, when the houses approach one another in order to form a
sort of village spread out over a /239/ hilltop of two or three
kilometers, amidst gardens and Barbary fig trees, the social bond
621 grows a little tighter again. The familial group to which we
613 have given the name of "ikhs" in the Sous is designated here by
"tarfiq" (1);

1. Perhaps from the Arabic "refaqa," group of persons, unless it is a deformation of "ferqa," division.

621 It seems that it might be permissible to give
613 the name of "clan" to the "tarfiq" of the Beni
614 Ouriaghel. This is a familial group more nu-
114 merous and more lasting than the "ikhs" of the
Haut-Atlas and at the same time a sort of po-
litical unit. Doutté gives, wrongly according
[171] to us, the name of "clan" to the ensemble of
families that constitute a jema^{c}a in the North

621 /240 cont./
628 reals; 5,000 if it only wounded him; if the bullet missed its
613 goal, 2,500. The marksman, however, fortunate or awkward,
726 perished the next day, struck perhaps by a child hidden with a
[435] gun in a thicket of lentiscus.

It is understandable that under these conditions the notion of
613 "khoms" is often obscure; the only group that can exist then is
619 the family, around which assemble by bonds of adoption and marriage the weakest groups and the outsiders so as to form the "tarfiq."

613 Discords sometimes become so violent that material life
628 frequently stops; only the women then dare to go out into the fields; the men come to pray at the mosque without abandoning
613 their guns. In these circumstances, the family heads of the
628 whole country gather together in order to decide on a "ribat,"
675 which is respected for several months. This name is given to a solemn agreement that binds all the members of the neighboring tribes to repress, by means of very high fines, murders, rapes, large thefts, aggressions at the markets or on the roads leading to
[681] them. The sums paid by the guilty, which can climb to several thousand douros, are divided among the contracting tribes. The "amghars," heads of the most powerful families, have only the small personal part that goes to them just as to mere individuals.

628 Among the less turbulent tribes of the Rif, as at Targist, at
184 Zerqet, among the Beni Gmil, private wars have not reached as great a development since the inhabitants still succeed in living
621 grouped in hamlets. The "mouda" or subfractions and even the
632 "khoms" sometimes summon all the warriors in order to deliber-
621 ate common affairs. This meeting, to which each one comes
613 armed, takes the name "agrao" as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/. Sometimes the chiefs of
[681] each of the important families put at the head of the khoms an
[671] amghar whose role is to see to the application of the customary law, to have the fines, or "insaf," paid, with which crimes are punished according to rules known by all, but not written. Like
[652] the moqaddem in the western Atlas, this amghar collects one third of the "insaf"; the other two parts go to the tribe.

/294 cont./

634 792 182 This expansion of the religious forces smothers the free political life of the mountain populations, and even when a family head succeeds in dominating the neighboring villages and becoming amghar of an entire khoms, he remains the respectful servant of the holy personages who maintain in the tribes the tradition of Islam, hate of the Christian, and direct, without ever appearing, the debates of the little assemblies.

/295/ It is only where the grip of the marabouts and shorfa relaxes for a time and in the regions that are not entirely given over to private wars that the ambition of the minor amghars can be given free rein for some years. Indeed, we see them appear on the north versant of the chain of the Rif, out of the reach of the zaouias established on the summits, in the tribes of the Ghomara, among the Beni Bou Frah, the Beni Gmil, the Mestasa, and to the south of the Jbel Hammam, in the country of the Gzennaya at the sources of the Nkor, or in the tribe of the Beni Amret.

634 619 Although the internal life of these tribes at the end of the nineteenth century is less well known to us than that of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, it is nevertheless possible to find again the conditions in which the amghars of the western Rif grew important, up to the moment when the effort attempted by ᶜAbd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/ to constitute a Riffian State made them disappear at a single blow.

619 648 The anarchy in the country and disturbances that occurred in the tribe of the Boqqoya had made necessary, at the beginning of the reign of Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, the sending of a strong harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the organization of the tribes was entrusted to the kaid Boucheta el Baghdadi, of the guich /gish/ of the Sultan, who in our day has become Pasha of Fès /Fez/. The garrisons billeted in the old casbahs of Tafersit and Snada, supported by a small steamer of the sherifian fleet in the bay of Alhucemas, sufficed at this time to restore order. The [614] command of the tribal "khoms" was then entrusted to the chiefs of the most powerful clans, named sheiks for the occasion. The dissensions of the mountain "khoms," which had previously ended

/295 cont./
619 in the creation of a kind of political chessboard analogous to the
648 one that we found among the Masmouda, subsided for a time.

175 Several years of peace -- from 1898 to 1903 -- were followed by the passing of the pretender Bou Hamara and soon by
726 the intervention of Spain on the coasts of the Rif beginning from
[648] 1909. Anarchy broke out anew; other leffs were again constituted
around the two rival fractions of Targist, winning all the country
[616] from the West to the East, from the Beni Gmil to the Beni Amret.
[634] It was in the course of these combats that there then appeared and
grew important such amghars as El Hajj Beqqich, in the north of
the Gzennaya, Mohammed ᶜAbdallah of the Ijaᶜounen, in the
tribe of the Beni Amret, Mesaᶜoud of Aqqa among the Beni Gmil.

634 /296/ These minor chiefs then are masters more absolute in
[171] their tribes than the Masmouda amghars of the same importance;
they do not find themselves in fact inconvenienced by the tradition of the oligarchic inflas councils, nor by the memory of the
[171] moqaddem's role. Nevertheless, like the amghars of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, they share with the notables the fines paid by
[681] the guilty, taking a third when they are still weak and nearly all
[434] when they have solidly established their power. In the cantons
that they dominate, they establish other amghars chosen from
[614] among the strongest "tarfiqt" chiefs and bind them to them by
[581] marriages. The authority that they acquire in this way is such
that they are capable of conducting far and wide, across the
neighboring tribes, expeditions to a distance of a day's march,
in order to go to make their word respected and to punish their
adversaries. El Hajj Beqqich did this; leaving from the sources of
the Nkor, he went with his horsemen to wreak vengeance on his
enemies as far as Ajdir.

175 At the time of the great movement for a holy war against
721 Spain in 1921, the amghars figured at the head of the Riffian contingents. We see them take part with ardor in the battle of
634 Anoual. But when ᶜAbd el Kerim, his relatives and companions
648 from the village of Ajdir take, by means of the "Jihad," the
[669] command of the Beni Ouriaghel, organize a little state, bend the
surrounding tribes to their will in order better to direct the fight

/401 cont./

000 day attached /402/ to their republican traditions and opposed by incessant wars. At least we may say that their appearance, almost unaccountable at first sight if one thinks of the loyalty maintained by the Kabyles to their egalitarian constitutions, is illuminated when one grants that the country in which they grew was divided into territorial leffs several centuries ago and was covered by a chessboard of small tribes opposed in two alliances, analogous to that of the western Atlas in our time. From then on, one can admit the same causes engendering the same effects, that amghars of cantons and tribes of Kabylie /Kabylia/ succeeded in rising, by means of leff ties, by forming principalities similar to the ones of the great kaids of the country of the Masmouda.

175 631 The most recent example that we can cite is also the one conforming most to our previous conclusions. Under our eyes, the last chief of Berbère /Berber/ independence, Mohammed ben ʿAbd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/, has, as a matter of fact, just tried to create a state in the anarchic Rif, while obeying, doubtless without knowing it, principles that his predecessors must have followed in other regions of the Maghreb.

[648] The Riffian chief appears to us, in fact, from the first battles that precede the Spanish rout of 1921, as a mere notable of the Beni Ouriaghel; his Anoual victory makes of him only a "war leader," whose authority remains limited and precarious. At that moment there was nothing that could make his surprising career foreseen. But then he becomes aware of his mission. We see him
[578] [619] first of all silencing the very keen rivalry of the soffs in his tribe; after stopping the private wars among the Beni Ouriaghel, his brothers, he forms a Riffian Makhzen, to which the riparian tribes of the bay of Alhucemas, Boqqoya, Beni Ouriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Touzin contribute their best elements, as the Masmouda of the Nefis formerly grouped themselves around Ibn Toumert,
175 631 669 648 Mahdi of the Almohades. In the manner of the great chiefs of the Atlas, he then chooses his harka leaders and his caliphates from his tribe of origin; he makes warriors from his village of Ajdir his counselors and confidential men. Next, having thus ensured the fortune of his clan, of his village, of his tribe, and